DOCTORAL THESIS

Victim responses to stalking: A temporal approach to factors affecting the duration and intensity of being stalked.

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Victim Responses to Stalking:

A Temporal Approach to Factors Affecting the Duration and Intensity of Being Stalked

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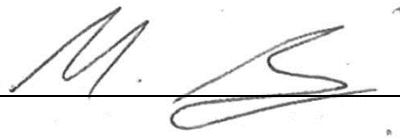
Coping — Crime Prevention — Criminology — Harassment — Routine Activity Theory — Stalking — Victim Responses — Victimology

Abstract

An estimated 19 per cent of women in Australia will be stalked at some stage in their lives (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Research has shown that the greater the victimisation a person experiences, the more he or she will resort to a variety of attempts to manage the stalking behaviour. Very few empirical studies of victim responses exist, and even fewer have yielded evidence showing how a particular intervention affects an instance of stalking. Should a victim respond to stalking? What is the best method of response? Is there any benefit to acting early? This doctoral project examined the relationship between the duration and intensity of stalking, and the way in which victims respond to and exercise agency over being stalked. It draws on Routine Activity Theory to highlight the ways in which behaviours impact upon offending and victimisation. Respondents (N=143) completed a self-report questionnaire, derived from an instrument used by Sheridan and Blaauw (2004). The study examined, among other things, responses to stalking and the temporal dimension in employing responses. Broadly, findings showed that an early response (i.e., within two weeks) was associated with a shorter duration of stalking (i.e., less than one year) for the following responses: personally informing the stalking that their behaviour was unwanted; informing the police; and informing a boss. Ultimately, the thesis contributes to the fields of crime prevention and victimology and aims to inform best practice in the strategic intervention of stalking.

Statement of Original Authorship

I certify that this is my own work and that the use of material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged in the text. The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at Bond University or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature: 

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Preface

'If I have seen further it is by standing on the shoulders of giants'
~ Sir Isaac Newton in a letter to Robert Hooke dated 15 February 1676

This thesis was conceived while I was volunteering with The National Centre for Domestic Violence ('NCDV') in the United Kingdom to support victims of domestic violence. The NCDV provides legal assistance to those partners who have, typically, exhausted all hope that their abusive experiences will end. At this point, such victims sought injunctive relief against their partners and, invariably, the NCDV assisted them with their applications. As part of drafting witness statements, victims would be asked to describe the first, worst and last instance of domestic violence they had experienced. In nearly all of the matters in which I became involved, the delay between the first and last instance was significant; indeed, often years had lapsed between them. Generally, those instances involved serious acts of violence and/or prominent aggression toward the applicant.

When asked why they refrained from previously seeking legal help, victims provided a variety of responses. Some feared their partner too much. Others had, in fact, sought legal redress or police intervention, but such initiatives had simply failed. Concerningly, a vast majority of applicants had delayed in seeking any form of help. It seemed that for many victims, no matter what measures they took, they feared they were 'too late'. This experience led me to question the effectiveness of responses and to consider whether an early, robust constellation of victim interventions could be capable of avoiding or minimising acts of domestic violence. The experience of working alongside victims of domestic violence was invaluable, and I developed a strong interest in the field of criminology, particularly the areas of crime prevention and victimology. As an offence, domestic

violence, like stalking, can be considered incendiary. The sustained, slow-burn effect of the offence causes further victimisation.

It is easy to understand why authors have described stalking as both intriguing and complex (O'Connor & Rosenfeld, 2004, p.8). In one anecdotal instance, a former colleague mentioned that, for several months, she had been pursued by her ex-boyfriend, who had resorted to eliciting information about her from a mutual friend by pretending that he was suffering from cancer. He had also managed to persuade a travel agent to cancel an airline booking that she had made to travel overseas. Such an account illustrates properties that are unique to the offence of stalking and demonstrates that effective prevention strategies to avoid pursuit or harassment can, for many, appear beyond reach. Moreover, such accounts can serve to undermine conventional policing and legal remedies.

This research objectively charts the responses of victims. To borrow and substantially paraphrase Isaac Newton's Third Law of Motion — 'for every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction' — it is the exploration of that opposite reaction, behaviourally, that forms the primary focus of this study. At a young age, many of us are told, usually by parents or guardians, to ignore bullies, and not to react to hurtful words or threats. Some of us may have been told that escalating a matter, by informing a teacher or employer that another person is harassing us, is not acceptable — because no one likes a 'snitch'. Yet, there is a curious lacuna of research in relation to victim responses to specific offences. The aim here, consistent with other research, is to advance our understanding of victim behaviour and its capacity to control crimes, for such an advancement could serve to encourage specifically measured responses to stalking, thereby reducing crime and/or victim impact. As part of this research project I have come to know of many individuals

within the community who make it their vocation to promote awareness, safety and prevention against interpersonal violence. From liaising with some of them, it is encouraging to learn that research is relied on to inform their advice and services.

Much is owed to the victims who took part in the current study. Throughout this thesis, wherever the word ‘victim’ appears, it does not imply passivity or, unless otherwise stated, acceptance of one’s circumstances as a casualty. It is recognised that the term ‘survivor’ is often preferred over that of ‘victim’, as the former connotes an individual’s resilience and resourcefulness. The word ‘victim’ is used here, however, to represent those who are currently experiencing, and/or who have experienced, harm, injury or any other detriment as a result of another person’s actions, and this includes ‘survivors’.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements iv
Preface vii
Table of Contents x
List of Tables xiii
List of Figures xiv
List of Abbreviations xv
Chapter One: Introduction 1
An Overview of Current Knowledge 1
Context of this Research 3
Rationale for this Thesis 6
An Overview of the Theoretical Framework 16
The Purposes of this Thesis 19
The Scope of this Thesis 21
The Structure of this Thesis 23
Chapter Two: An Overview of the Stalking Problem 25
Introduction 25
The Offence of Stalking 25
Perceptions of Stalking 35
A Gender-Based Offence 45
Evolutionary Explanations of Stalking 47
Online Harassment (Cyberstalking) 49
Typologies of Stalkers 53
Stalking and the Law 61
Overview of Stalking Legislation in Queensland 69
Restraining Orders and Other Civil Remedies 76
Summary 83
Chapter Three: The Harmful Effects of Stalking 85
Introduction 85
A 'Public Health Issue' 85
Harm, Threats and Violence Associated with Stalking 94

The Economic Toll of Stalking 102
Stalking, Trauma and Comorbidity 106
The Duration of Stalking Episodes 112
Frequency 125
Summary 132
Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework 135
Introduction 135
Routine Activity Theory and Life-style Exposure 137
Situational Crime Prevention 144
Rational Choice Perspective 147
A Victimological Perspective 149
Just World Hypothesis 156
Summary 159
Chapter Five: A Victimological Approach to Stalking 161
Introduction 161
Common Victim Responses to Stalking 163
Effectiveness of Victim Responses to Stalking 173
Summary and Implications 184
Chapter Six: Research Design and Methods 186
Introduction 186
Research Design 187
Recruitment 189
Instruments 190
Analysis 201
Conclusion 203
Chapter Seven: Quantitative Data Results 204
Introduction 204
Characteristics of Sample Participants 205
Descriptions of the Stalker and the Stalking 207
Responses from Victims and Others 212
Consequences of Victimisation 219
Responses, Delay and Duration 221

Statistical Analyses 228
Summary and Key Findings 231
Chapter Eight: Qualitative Data Results 234
Introduction 234
Awareness Relates to Response, Delay and Duration 235
Responses by Others 238
Responses to Stalking 241
Effects of Stalking 246
Personal Advice and Recommendations 247
Conclusion 251
Chapter Nine: Discussion and Conclusion 252
Introduction 252
Victim Responses to Stalking 253
Factors Related to Duration and Intensity of Stalking 263
Implications for Theory and Practice 267
Limitations 273
Conclusion 278
References 283
Appendices 307
Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire 307
Appendix 2: Survey Codebook 339
Appendix 3: Bond University Human Research Ethics Materials 394
Appendix 4: Recruitment Media Sources 400
Appendix 5: List of Victim Support Organisations Across Australia 411

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of stalking legislation across Australian jurisdictions (based on Ogilvie, 2000, p.6).....65
Table 2: Comparison of the Sheridan and Blaauw (2004) instrument measuring stalking victimisation with that of the present study measuring responses to stalking.....194
Table 3: Examples of questionnaire items contained in Section Three, 'About the stalking', which were developed to capture data on the duration and timing of the stalking episode.....197
Table 4: Examples of newly developed questionnaire items in Section Five — Your responses to stalking. 199
Table 5: Demographic characteristics of the sample. 206
Table 6: Characteristics of stalkers as described by respondents. 208
Table 7: Responses of participants when asked how their instance of stalking ended. 210
Table 8: Number of respondents who deployed a particular response, the delay in deploying the response and the perceived helpfulness, by duration of stalking (i.e., less or more than 12 months). 215
Table 9: Victim responses (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) by the duration of stalking (<12 months, >12 months). 221
Table 10: Mean responses by the duration of stalking (<1 month, 1-12 months, 12-60 months, >60 months). 223
Table 11: Victim responses by the duration of stalking for personally informing the stalker that their behaviour is unwanted, ignoring the stalker, and applying for a restraining order. 224
Table 12: Coping behaviours among respondents (*N*=112). 227

List of Figures

Figure 1: Establishing stalker type on the basis of limited information from the victim (Mullen, et al., 2006, p.443). 56
Figure 2: Edited copy of a Harassment Warning Letter. 82
Figure 3: Graphical representation of Cohen and Felson's (1979) Routine Activity Theory or 'Felson's Crime Triangle' (Sutton, et al., 2014, p.18). 138
Figure 4: Typology of coping tactics (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001).....175
Figure 5: Typology of coping tactics (drawn from Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001).....214
Figure 6: Average (*M*) number of response types (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) by the duration of stalking. 222
Figure 7: Average timing of victim responses by the duration of stalking.....225
Figure 8: Timing of the response strategy and perceived utility in helping to stop the stalking. 226
Figure 9: Concept model of victim responses drawn from the present research. 266

List of Abbreviations

M	Mean average
n	Number of cases (generally in a subsample)
N	Total number of cases
p	p-value (probability value)
SD	Standard deviation

Chapter One: Introduction

An Overview of Current Knowledge

Stalking legislation first began to appear over 30 years ago. As a phenomenon, stalking has been extensively researched. To refer to it as a 'phenomenon' is apt, as stalking has evolved; and since its recognition and prominence in the early 1990s, researchers have grappled with its legal context, definitional dilemmas and examined the consequences for its victims. Almost universally, the existing and enforceable definitions of stalking, both behavioural and legislative, have evaded consensus and uniformity (O'Connor & Rosenfeld, 2004; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Stocker & Nielssen, 2000). Victims often feel unprepared for the impact that a stalker can have on their lives; it is an offence of attrition. Stalking is an offence that comprises a wide range of behaviours, for example, following, loitering and/or contacting another. Stalking can also be linked to other offences, such as assault or homicide. This thesis centres on victim prevention and is concerned with the way in which victims respond to being stalked, specifically, this research examines the action(s) taken, if any, by victims in response to being stalked, as well as the timing of their response. It explores the relationship between the types and, indeed, timing of victim responses and the duration of being stalked.

Stalking is the subject of research in the disciplines of psychology, medicine, law, sociology and criminology. Due to the prevalence and harmful consequences of stalking, it is singularly worthy of such attention and, undoubtedly, will be the subject of inquiry on an ongoing basis.

Exploration of the current boundaries of stalking makes it clear that any policies and practices designed to prevent offending must be influenced by research. The Centre for Forensic Behavioural Science (the Paul Mullen Centre), located in Melbourne, sets a strong example for future approaches to stalking. The Centre is unique in so far as it provides for specific assessment and treatment of those who engage in stalking. More will follow later in relation to the Paul Mullen Centre, Forensicare and the Stalking Risk Profile; suffice it to say for now that such facilities, programmes and instruments demonstrate a capacity to effect change and thwart stalking behaviour through research-developed practice. That stalking can be prevented and controlled is a view held by many, and this perception serves as an impetus for advocates, practitioners, researchers and, importantly, victims to strive toward in reducing the prevalence and impact of stalking.

It is recognised that 'stalking is not new, but legal and clinical responses to its victims and survivors are' (Knox & Roberts, 2003, pp.10–11). Stalking research has matured sufficiently to a stage where those concerned with exploring the offence are far from 'feeling [their] way in the dark' (Sheridan, Blaauw & Davies, 2003, p.148). At this time, stalking is, as a social construct, largely identifiable and accepted as developed and tested. Awareness of the offence among national populations is, without doubt, higher than it was 30 years ago (Petherick, 2014). Moreover, the development of technology, while providing additional prevention options, 'has also brought more danger to victims of stalking and given more tools for stalkers to use' (Fraser, Olsen, Lee, Southworth & Tucker, 2010, p.39). The increased awareness and visibility of stalking, in addition to emerging methods for offenders to stalk, makes the present research opportune. This Chapter introduces the thesis. First, the context of and rationale for this thesis

are explained, with reference made to several existing studies that have explored victim responses to stalking. Then, the Chapter provides a brief overview of the theoretical framework relied on as part of this doctoral project. Following this, the purpose and scope of the thesis are identified. Finally, the structure of the thesis and subsequent chapters are outlined.

Context of this Research

The multiple definitions of stalking found within the research literature are more fully canvassed in Chapter Two; but, broadly speaking, stalking is taken to refer to a pattern of unwanted intrusions by one person into the life of another in a manner that would produce anxiety or fear in a reasonable person (McEwan, MacKenzie, Mullen & James, 2002). Victims of stalking are exposed to threatening behaviours often over prolonged periods of time, and some have described their experiences as 'emotional or psychological rape' (Orion, 1997, p.185), 'psychological terrorism' (Meloy, 1998, p.133) and 'rape without sex' (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2000; Hall, 1997; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000; Sheridan & Boon, 2002). It is estimated that 19 per cent of women in Australia will be stalked at some stage in their life (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015). One Australian study (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002) found that nearly one in four people (both men and women) will be stalked in their lifetime, with approximately one-fifth of victims enduring some form of physical assault by their stalker. Existing population-based studies, internationally, report a lifetime victimisation prevalence of stalking ranging from two to 13 per cent for males and eight to 32 per cent for females (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Dressing, Gass & Keuhner, 2007; Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998).

In the United States, revisions to the findings of a 2009 study showed that over the course of 12-months, an estimated 1.5 per cent of persons aged 18 or older had been stalked (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009; Catalano, 2012). As a local illustration, more recently, Victorian Police statistics showed a 27.7 per cent increase in reported harassment offences between 2012 and 2013 (Victorian Police, 2014), including conduct such as stalking and using phone, postal services or listening devices to menace, harass and offend. Of the 4,875 harassment offences recorded in Victoria for the year 2012–2013, some 1,138 (23 per cent) remain unsolved. In Queensland, the figures appear to reflect even greater increased reporting of the offence. Between January and November 2013, the reporting of stalking offences increased by 62 per cent (Queensland Police Service News, 2015).

Should a victim respond to stalking? If so, what is the best method of response? Can a victim benefit from responding at an early stage of victimisation? Generally, just as offenders use a wide variety of behaviours to pursue another, victims of stalking can respond to unwanted behaviour through an array of tactics (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2003; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Common methods employed by victims of stalking to thwart the intrusive behaviour of another include: changing day-to-day activities (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009); requesting the person to cease their behaviour (Bjerregaard, 2000); avoiding certain people or places (Budd & Mattinson, 2000); hanging up when the person calls (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000); enlisting the help of family or friends (Baum, et al., 2009; Haugaard & Seri, 2003); reasoning or attempting to reason with the pursuer (Brewster, 1999); avoiding or attempting to avoid the pursuer (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2005); and ignoring or trying to ignore the pursuer (Brewster, 1998). Victims in more serious cases often resort to obtaining restraining orders (Baum, et al.,

2009) and/or contacting the police (Baum, et al., 2009; Bjerregaard, 2000; Brewster, 1998). These methods are seldom used independently, and it is often the case that they are used over time in conjunction with one or more others (Brewster, 1999; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2000; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Fisher, et al., 2000; Haugaard & Seri, 2003; Nicastro, et al., 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001). Research has shown that the longer and the more intrusive the stalking is, the more a victim will resort to multiple attempts to manage the stalking behaviour (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998). Yet, despite studies showing the common methods deployed by victims of stalking in response to their experience, very few studies have examined the effectiveness of responses. Relatedly, few studies have shown whether some responses can aggravate a stalking experience.

Several responses to stalking have attracted criticism, especially the use of restraining orders (i.e., Apprehended Violence Orders/intervention orders) to reduce the risk of violence and continued stalking (de Becker, 1997; Goode, 1995; Hall, 1997; Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995). Despite such criticism, few studies have yielded empirical evidence showing how a particular intervention impacts on an offender and how this might reduce the stalking behaviours (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Moreover, it has been noted that little attention has been paid to the ways in which the intensity and duration of stalking is connected to the behaviour of its victims (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). The concept of persistence on the part of the offender relating to stalking is virtually unexplored (James et al., 2010). It is this concept of persistence that is a focus of the present research exploring factors that may affect stalking behaviour. This work examined the timing and effectiveness of responses used by victims of stalking to determine which, if any, responses were more likely to reduce the duration and intensity

of stalking. Relatedly, this work provides a worthwhile review of the victim responses recommended by academics, practitioners and law enforcement agencies. The findings of such an examination, that is, of victim responses and their relationship to the duration and intensity of stalking, provides a clearer understanding of specific victim behaviours that engender persistence or desistance. This is explored further in Chapter Nine.

Rationale for this Thesis

Stalking experts have identified the purpose and benefits of disseminating research in the field, acknowledging that 'in studying stalking, we are constantly seeking more effective ways of identifying and protecting the victims' (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2002, p.337). Several studies relating to victim responses, including incipient work, are directly concerned with coping (Amar & Alexy, 2010; Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan & Roberts, 2010; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2000; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997; Kraaij, Arensman, Garenfski & Kremers, 2007; Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012; Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000). Coping refers to a person expending conscious effort to solve problems (usually interpersonal), and to minimise and/or tolerate conflict or stress (Frieze, Hymer & Greenberg, 1987). The research conducted as part of this thesis does not address, discretely, the issue of coping, which is an expansive topic widely used in the discipline of psychology; indeed, measurements and scales are developed for it. While the term 'coping' appears to be a synonym for victim action or responses in various studies, a clear distinction can be drawn between victim responses to thwart stalking — with which this doctoral project is concerned — and actions taken by the victim to manage the symptoms of being stalked. More will follow to identify clearly those

measures that are crime prevention-oriented, and others that are related to the concept of psychological coping.

It was not so long ago lamented that an inequality existed among empirical studies of types of crime — in particular, that scholarly research in relation to stalking was lacking compared to other offences or criminal trends (Albrecht, 2001; Bartol, 1999). The reason for this disparity was not explained. It was recognised, however, that 'systematic information on stalking in the [United States] is limited despite the attention it receives from the media and the legislatures' (Bartol, 1999, p.18). At a time when stalking as an area of research was a developing space, it was recognised that (Meloy, 1996, p.61):

> Research content areas that await study include victim reactions (both adaptive and maladaptive), psychological test characteristics of the obsessional follower, the longitudinal course of obsessional following, immigration as a stressor, epidemiological studies, precipitants of both pursuit and violence, differential risk factors between personal and property violence, psychiatric and psychological treatment, and effective risk management.

Subsequent work confirmed that a vacuum existed with respect to scientific research and stalking data, concluding that despite receiving an enormous amount of legal attention, clinical research had been meagre (Meloy, 1998). Relatedly, early research indicated that, compared with other types of victimisation, and with the exception of a few notable studies (Coleman, 1997; Frieze & Davis, 2000a; 2000b; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), the stalking of women stood out as a singular type of victimisation lacking research

attention (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002). Stalking victimisation has previously been described as an 'under-researched area', and in the absence of further and more detailed investigation, the development of effective policies and appropriately targeted interventions will become increasingly difficult (Fisher, Cullen & Tuner, 2002, p.259). Similarly, it has been highlighted that 'there is very little published scholarly research on stalking … and, among the small number of studies that are available, most emphasise medical or psychiatric treatment methods with adult stalkers' (Leitz & Theriot, 2005, p.98). In one study that conducted a preliminary review of research relating to stalking among young adults, it was recommended that particular attention should be paid to 'the effectiveness of the coping strategies employed by victims, including the general lack of victim utilisation of law-enforcement and clinical services' and 'the relationship among coping mechanisms, symptomatology, and stalking severity' (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003, p.467).

As part of an investigation into the relationships between women's material and emotional resources and strategies, and their ability to stay safe over time from interpersonal violence, it was contended that (Goodman, Dutton, Vankos & Wienfurt, 2005, p.312):

> Information about what women and their support networks can do for themselves, or what resources can be most helpful, could help to undermine the feelings of powerlessness and helplessness of battered women about the violence in their lives, as well as guide them to choose better strategies to protect themselves.

Further, it is noted that 'such information would also be useful to frontline workers who do safety planning, education, and intervention with women in courts, shelters, health care clinics,

or counselling offices' (Goodman, Dutton, Vankos & Wienfurt, 2005, p.312). Evidently, there are many practical applications of research in the area of interpersonal violence, and indeed, where reference to battered women and violence is used, it is submitted that the same advice is capable of being applied to victims of stalking (Goodman, Dutton, Vankos & Wienfurt, 2005). From the position that research is capable of equipping victims and informing policy and strategy, the argument for further studies to be conducted in the field of stalking victimisation, particularly victim responses, is strengthened.

The paucity of research on victim strategies to cope with and/or prevent stalking was recognised by others as well (Fremouw, Westrup, & Pennypacker, 1997). In one of the first epidemiological studies exploring the prevalence of stalkers and stalking victims among college students (n=294 in study 1, 165 females and 129 males, n=299 in study 2, 153 females, 146 males), it was discovered that for female students being stalked, the most frequent strategy in response to being pursued was to ignore the stalker (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997, p.688). This nascent research identified gaps in the field of stalking victimisation and suggested that future studies be conducted to determine why some people are stalked and others are not (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997). It was suggested that research be focused on how victims cope with or manage pursuit behaviours in addition to the dynamic between victims and stalkers, in particular, by following the dissolution of a long-term relationship (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997).

A study conducted in 2000 explored stalking victim characteristics, which included victim responses and coping strategies (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000). Within the framework of the study it was recognised that a vital question of causality needed to be addressed in future

research: ‘Do increases in stalking produce more victim coping responses, or are there ways in which victim coping responses actually stimulate more stalking?’ (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000, p.77). One of the clear concerns that emerged from the research was the dangers of victim responses. The study paid tribute to the advice of expert threat-management consultants, particularly Gavin de Becker (1997), whose work claims that many victims of stalking engage in behaviours that reinforce pursuit behaviours. In view of such a claim, it has been suggested that a demand exists for research to ‘disentangle the time and causality effect of this complex process to determine which coping responses diminish stalking activities and which responses encourage them’ (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000, p.77). Sadly, data indicated that it is possible that victims of stalking employ coping strategies at a late stage — too late to reduce the trauma already established (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000).

It has been recognised that victim tactics and responses to stalking are critical to thwarting obsessive and/or pursuit behaviours (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2002). Based on earlier victimological work that observed relationships between adaptive coping mechanisms and psychological symptoms (Aldwin & Revenson, 1987), it was recommended that future investigations into stalking responses ‘need to discern the conditions under which these particular responses aggravate or mitigate obsessive intrusion’ (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2002, p.153). Consistent with other work (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000), it has been identified that in regard to responding to stalking, it may be the timing of the response, not in fact the response itself, that determines the efficacy of the strategy (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2002, p.153).

It has been acknowledged that 'hopelessness and helplessness [on the part of a victim] are likely to flow from repeated unsuccessful efforts made by victims to keep themselves safe and cope with the looming threats posed by stalking' (Mechanic, 2002, p.53). Indeed, among the existing research community, some aver that 'victims cannot control their stalker's behaviour, they can only take precautions and do the best they can to cope' (Sinwelski & Winton, 2001, p.57). Strong grounds remain for 'innovative approaches' to be considered, and for a shift from palliative attempts to reduce symptomatic distress (Mechanic, 2002, p.53). Relatedly, it has been identified that a fundamental dilemma exists, as clinical strategies are limited to controlling victim behaviour, including managing symptoms, decreasing stress, and/or restricting lifestyle, and, moreover, that very little can be done to curb a stalker's obsession (Mechanic, 2002, p.53).

Owing to the often deceptive, remote and surreptitious nature of the offence of stalking, it is accepted that in many circumstances very little exertion can be applied to the behaviour of an offender (Mechanic, 2002). This is despite the fact that control over an offender's behaviour does not appear to be what victims are attempting to achieve (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). A National Centre for Victims of Crime brochure prepared by the Office of Victims of Crime as part of a 'help series' noted (Office of Victims of Crime, 2002, p.1):

> Unfortunately, there is no single psychological or behavioural profile for stalkers. Every stalker is different. This makes it virtually impossible to devise a single effective strategy that can be applied to every situation.

Due to this uncertain risk, victims are advised to 'immediately seek the advice of local victim specialists who can work with them to devise a safety plan for their unique situation and circumstances' (Office of Victims of Crime, 2002, p.1). The perception that the victim has very little control over an offender's behaviour may, in part, be the reason why a shift in focus from the offender to the victim has been so obvious in stalking research over the course of the last two decades. A practical and comprehensive survival manual for victims of stalking and related crime expressly provides that 'victims can do little if anything to alter directly their stalkers' behaviour, but they can modify their *own* actions' (Pathé, 2002, p.63). It is submitted that such advice and views relating to limited victim opportunity to control an instance of stalking is one that, taken into consideration, fails to identify the impact of a chosen response on the part of a victim. Importantly, the risk of further victimisation, such as feelings of overwhelming futility, may be increased through maladaptive responses.

In a descriptive study of 262 college students in the United States (Boston College, Massachusetts), examining coping strategies employed by victims of stalking (Amar & Alexy, 2010), results indicated that nearly one-quarter of the sample (n=69) reported experiencing stalking victimisation, and the most common coping strategy employed was to ignore the problem (Amar & Alexy, 2010, p.10). As part of the study's findings, it was recommended that future research should be conducted to explore the effectiveness of victim-coping strategies in altering the course of stalking to diminish psychopathology (Amar & Alexy, 2010). It is submitted that such research could have significant implications for refining current practice, and with the additional evidence, clinicians would be better prepared to react and respond to stalking.

A similar study conducted in 2006 among a stratified sample of college women enrolled in a public university in Southeastern United States (N=391) found that approximately one-fifth of women(n=78) reported stalking victimisation while enrolled at their current institution (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency 2009, p.421). Approximately half (n=37, 47.4 per cent) of the female victims acknowledged that they did not seek help from anyone in relation to those incidents. Help-seeking behaviours were measured, and seeking assistance (i.e., from police, parents, friends) among women being stalked was 'extremely low' (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.423). Indeed, fewer than four per cent (3.8) of victims reported informing the police following stalking incidents. The investigators commented that despite the scholarly, policy and media attention fixated on the offence of stalking, research on stalking victimisation remained underwhelming (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009).

There have been other calls for research into effective responses to stalking behaviours, describing it as 'much needed' (Dutton & Winstead, 2011, p.1153). In concert with previous recommendations (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004), more recent demands in terms of what needs to be provided within the stalking research community include longitudinal, sequential and dyadic approaches to better assess the complex nature of Unwanted Pursuit ('UP') (stalking) (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Additionally, studies being encouraged are those that explore the effectiveness of responses at all stages of stalking, as well as the extent to which response effectiveness is associated with myriad issues, including the stage of break-up, victim resilience, and the mental status of the pursuer and victim (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). There remains a gap in existing research identifying, even broadly, those activities that are effective and those that are counterproductive (Amar, 2006). In addition, it has been noted that 'research on how

coping strategies are chosen and applied has not been conducted, nor has the effectiveness of the various strategies been examined' (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003, p.463). Importantly, studies that explore the interventions used to manage stalking are capable of assisting future victims who can benefit from being counselled on using the best evidence-based practices (Amar, 2006).

The greatest impasse for many researchers lies in understanding the 'complex behaviour' of stalking (O'Connor & Rosenfeld, 2004, p.7). Existing recommendations suggest further examination of 'experiences and perceptions of people from different cultures, different classes, and different countries' (O'Connor & Rosenfeld, 2004, p.7). To date, nearly all research on stalking derives from Anglo populations (Australian, British, Canadian, European and American studies) (Spitzberg, 2002). There are notable exceptions, however, with studies conducted in Japan (Suzuki, 1999), Iran (e.g., Kordvani, 2000) and the Caribbean (Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Spitzberg, 2002). It has been highlighted that very few studies of stalking victims use large populations and much of the available research is based on convenience samples (Amar, 2004, 2006; Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009; Coleman, 1997; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1996; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999). Existing research is limited to 'assessments of lifetime stalking victimisation, including stalking experiences occurring in college as well as in high school, and during time periods when students were not attending college' (Amar, 2004, 2006; Del Ben & Fremouw, 2002; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1996)' (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.420).

Criticism has also been made of surveys adopting simple or limited definitions of stalking (e.g., assessing only cyberstalking, see Finn, 2004) and 'problematic measurements of stalking

victimization (e.g., not asking behaviourally specific questions about stalking incidents and instead asking survey respondents a single question such as 'Have you ever been stalked or harassed by a partner, date, or someone important to you?', see Amar, 2004; 2006; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1996)' (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.420). It is submitted that regular national surveys, cross-cultural studies and purpose-designed projects examining victim responses to being pursued, cumulatively, are likely to increase knowledge and understanding relating to the phenomenon of stalking (O'Connor & Rosenfeld, 2004). An investigation of 'what works in the treatment of stalkers and what predicts recurrence of stalking behaviour' has likewise been called for (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.156), and indeed, the legitimate exploration of victim responses can similarly assist in this endeavour as well.

The findings and recommendations that form part of the various studies mentioned above demonstrate that the evolution of research has, at many stages, identified a need for further research to be conducted relating to victim responses to stalking. Such investigation may lend itself to improved prevention methods and assist in the practical application of advising victims to achieve an optimal solution when faced with stalking. This thesis goes further by specifically examining whether the timing of a particular victim response may affect pursuit behaviours. Broadly, this adds a temporal consideration to victim behaviours, contributing to existing work directed at eventually reducing this offence type. In view of the above calls and suggestions for improved focus on stalking studies and a greater understanding of victim responses (Amar, 2006; Amar & Alexy, 2010; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011, Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000; Ravensberg & Miller, 2003), it is submitted that this research is necessary and in concordance with the development of study in the area. In other words, the

research aligns with the aims of previous recommendations and complements the existing body of investigation.

An Overview of the Theoretical Framework

This thesis is informed by the two broad perspectives of victimology and crime prevention. There are three contemporary theories, fundamental to the sub-field of crime prevention, that provide the framework for exploring the empirical data, namely, Routine Activity Theory, a Situational Crime Prevention orientation and the Rational Choice Perspective. Generally, this thesis draws on a social prevention approach, as distinct from an environmental one, that attempts to identify risk and protective factors across lifestyles to minimise victimisation (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). The research also considers the application of the 'Just World hypothesis' (Lerner, 1980), that is, the assumption that a person's actions result in morally fair consequences to that person (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003).

The first explanatory framework, Routine Activity Theory ('RAT') (Cohen & Felson, 1979), suggests that crime is the product of three simultaneous factors: a motivated offender, a potential target, and the absence of capable guardian. The framework is often referred to as the 'Crime Triangle' or 'Felson's Crime Triangle' (Felson & Boba, 2010). The theory emphasises that particular personal characteristics and lifestyle activity can affect an individual's risk of victimisation. Mustaine and Tewksbury's (1998) work applied RAT to determine which, if any, lifestyle activities of female college students increased their probability of being a victim of stalking; illicit substance use and regularly going out were found to increase such a risk. As

part of this work, RAT is applied to examine prevention theory and actions on the part of the victim.

Situational Crime Prevention ('SCP') (Clarke, 1980; 1985; 1997) is an applied research methodology built around a problem-solving approach (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). It aims to reduce opportunities for crime by providing techniques to apply to a wide array of situations. As originally developed, the key situational techniques to preventing crime involve: increasing the perceived efforts associated with its commission; increasing perceived risks of detection; reducing perceived awards; reducing provocations; and removing excuses (Clarke, 1980). A useful but prosaic example of SCP in practice is a visible steering lock used on the steering wheel of a car. An opportunistic car thief is, arguably, less likely to attempt to and/or successfully steal a car with a steering lock attached to it, thereby reducing crime. The theory is not without its limitations, which are explored in a later chapter of this thesis.

The final framework is the Rational Choice Perspective ('RCP') (Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Cornish & Clarke, 1986), which, as part of the umbrella of SCP, explores prevention through the lens of decisions made by offenders — decisions that serve a specific purpose. The theory posits that because the costs and benefits of any particular crime can vary for an offender, the commission of an offence is the product of an informed choice, based on the offender's situational environment (Clarke, 1997; Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Cornish & Clarke, 1986). The approach can also be used to consider the behaviours, based on informed decisions, of victims (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010). These frameworks — RAT, SCP and RCP — form a basis from which this thesis explores and critically analyses victimological and crime prevention considerations in relation to stalking.

In addition, the Just World hypothesis (Lerner, 1980) is also explored given the focus on victim behaviours in this present research project. The hypothesis propounds the notion that, generally, people believe that they exist in a world where they get what they deserve and that a person's actions have consequences (Lerner, 1980). The hypothesis has previously been used to explore perceptions of stalking (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003), and potential barriers to victim assistance were highlighted as being a product of uninformed views. In the legitimate exploration of victim responses and existing negative views on specific methods to prevent stalking (e.g., the use of civil injunctions, see for example de Becker, 1997), the Just World hypothesis assists in explaining perceptions held by victims, as well as the common perceptions espoused by those capable of assisting victims. For example, some victims may delay in taking positive steps to deter a stalker because they blame themselves or somehow feel responsible for their situation.

In summary, these three contemporary theories — Routine Activity Theory, Situational Crime Prevention orientation and Rational Choice Perspective — inform this thesis in several ways, chief among them being that they provide a lens through which the actions or decisions of a person who stalks another can be viewed as capable of being affected by the actions taken by a victim of stalking. More will follow in Chapter Four of this thesis as to the direct application of the identified theoretical framework to the findings of the empirical study undertaken.

The Purposes of this Thesis

The primary focus of this thesis is the timing and efficacy of victim responses to stalking. The research goal is to explore whether persistence on the part of a stalker is more likely to be abated through an equally targeted constellation of behaviours adopted by the victim. To achieve this, the research examines the relationship between victim response, the timing and nature of a response, and the duration and intensity of stalking. As previously mentioned, such an examination is likely to identify specific victim behaviours that engender persistence or desistance on the part of the stalker. From this research it is expected that crime prevention strategies specific to stalking will be improved, for example, a typology could be developed based on adaptive and maladaptive victim responses. Such a typology may then be used when considering the efficacy of intervention methods and best practice to deploy in order to interdict stalking behaviour.

Practices to prevent and abate the phenomenon of stalking have evolved over the past two decades (Davis & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2003; 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). For example, today, many victims of stalking are harassed via the Internet and other mediums of electronic communication. As such, research attention has focussed on the cyber version of stalking — described in 1998 as a neologism (Meloy, 1998) but now considered a common behaviour adopted by many Internet users (Finn, 2004; Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010). Advice and guidance to prevent both terrestrial and cyberstalking are issued by dozens of campaigners and groups internationally (Finn, 2004). While the exploration of victim behaviour and victim precipitation have long been criticised as instruments of blame, apologists maintain that information concerning the behaviour of victims

is invaluable when determining the opportunistic nature of crime (Clarke, 1980; 1985; 1997; Eck, 2003). In addition, most of the current typologies used in the field of stalking are commonly based on offender characteristics (Geberth, 1992; Kropp, Hart & Lyon, 2002; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 1999). These characteristics are not always known by the victim or agents employed to intervene on behalf of victims. Indeed, early research questioned the benefit gained by ascertaining diagnoses of stalkers, averring that 'knowing that a stalker has bipolar disorder does not tell us why that individual is stalking; otherwise all bipolar individuals would stalk' (Meloy, 1998, p.279).

A focus on victim behaviour in stalking incidents is capable of enhancing present typologies. Indeed, the present research aims to foster the emergence of a future typology (adaptive/maladaptive) of victim initiatives, which is, quite importantly, developed through empirically informed measures. By discovering whether a particular method is effective based on the stage at which it is deployed and the characteristics of the victim, those who provide advice to stalking victims will be capable of predicting, with an enhanced degree of certainty, the effectiveness of a particular intervention and whether suggested practices are adaptive or maladaptive, that is, good or bad, in terms of their impact on subsequent stalking behaviours. Alongside the primary purpose of this research — to evaluate the impact and/or consequences of victim responses in deterring a course of unwanted conduct — there remain several ancillary benefits from this empirical enterprise. The research adds to an existing criminological repository of knowledge by capturing never-before-gathered data from victims, in particular, the timing of victim responses to stalking. Growing this body of knowledge is critical for the advancement of the field and discipline as a whole. The work also explores victim initiatives

and behaviour, particularly the agency exerted by victims of stalking and the impact this has on subsequent behaviours of stalkers.

Fundamentally, the work enriches the information about the offence category of stalking, and contributes to the testing of theories of crime (e.g., RAT, SCP) that have, to date, rarely been applied to offences of a more serious and interpersonal nature (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Forde & Kennedy, 1997; Holtfreter, Reisig & Pratt, 2008; Lynch, 1987; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999). These wider contributions may presage the assistance of work undertaken by victim support groups. On a more practical level, the work has the potential to productively inform and promote public education campaigns to reduce the risk of harm to victims and successfully avoid instances of sustained unwanted pursuit. By reviewing current, available preventative measures and advocating early intervention, a clearer design in the way that stalking is viewed and dealt with can ensue, affording victims greater protection and safety from increasing intensity and extended durations of potentially harmful behaviour. As the boundaries of acceptable behaviour within interpersonal relationships are explored, it is anticipated that a significant correlation will be exposed between persistence (by an offender) and the chosen method and timing of the intervention adopted by the victim.

The Scope of this Thesis

This doctoral project focuses on the actions that victims take when faced with unwanted pursuit. Do they alter their behaviour on social media website? Do they move house? Do they change their name? In addition to asking victims what they did to try to stop the stalking, this research asked respondents to nominate when they took that action after first becoming aware that they

were being stalked (the timing of the response). The responses that victims took and the delay in employing the response was then measured against the total duration of stalking (i.e., days/weeks/years). A key objective of the study is to discover those responses that are optimal (i.e., that minimise the duration of stalking) and those that are unhelpful (i.e., those that have no effect). From the findings of this review of stalking responses, victims of stalking may be better equipped with the knowledge of 'what works' when dealing with being pursued. This thesis explores the existing research in the area of stalking and provides a broad, discursive review of common victim responses to stalking.

A number of salient questions have yet to be definitively answered. These questions focus on the behaviours of victims of stalking, in particular:

a) Which prevention methods are most effective in deterring and/or abating stalking behaviour?

b) At what stage of the stalking episode are victims most likely to abate and/or deter stalking behaviour?

When examined, these two overarching questions can be further divided into five sub-questions, each examining an 'action' (A), 'temporal aspect' (T) or 'consequence' (C):

i) What methods are victims of stalking commonly deploying in response to their ordeals? (A)
ii) When do victims first take action to deter the stalker? (T)
iii) Do victims respond differently to certain types of stalking? (A)
iv) Do victim responses in some way determine the persistence of the stalker? (C)
v) Do victim responses elevate the risk of harm or further victimisation? (C)

This thesis posits that duration and intensity of stalking, in addition to the risk and harm to victims, can be reduced by researching the effectiveness of the myriad proposed responses to stalking outlined by academics, practitioners and law enforcement agencies. It explores whether victims, in deploying tactics and/or relying on maladaptive responses to effectively abate stalking, unintentionally expose themselves as 'suitable targets' (Cohen & Felson, 1979) for further victimisation. Specifically, the study has been designed to examine the duration between a victim becoming aware of being stalked and taking action. This exploration of a temporal aspect of responses is frontier research and, it is submitted, an original work that makes a significant contribution to knowledge.

The Structure of this Thesis

The following chapter, Chapter Two, explores the phenomenon of stalking. The range of definitions of stalking are outlined and the existing laws enacted to proscribe pursuit behaviours are also examined. The chapter also provides a review of the research conducted on stalking perceptions. Chapter Two is fundamental to the thesis as it identifies what is stalking and engages with the legislative responses to thwart its occurrence. Chapter Three then turns to the documented harm to stalking victims. The chapter presents the findings of a number of studies that have explored the ways in which victims of stalking are affected by their experiences. Additionally, in line with adopting a temporal approach to stalking, Chapter Three presents the findings from research examining the duration and frequency of stalking. This chapter contributes to the thesis by identifying the harms of stalking and the relationship between protracted instances of stalking and greater victimisation.

Chapter Four provides a discursive overview of the theoretical framework on which this research is founded. The developed criminological theories that inform this research are also explored, particularly Routine Activity Theory and Situational Crime Prevention. The criminological basis of the thesis is then established. In Chapter Five, the empirical work relating to victim responses to stalking is reviewed. Critically, this chapter highlights the disjunction between those victim responses that are most common and those that are perceived to be most effective. Consequently, the argument for a victimological approach to the problem is advanced, in particular, the need for further and better analysis of victim responses to stalking. The research design and methods are presented in Chapter Six followed by the results from the study in Chapters Seven (quantitative results) and Eight (qualitative results). By way of conclusion, a final chapter — Chapter Nine — comprises a discussion of this research and contextualises the study in terms of its empirical and theoretical output as well as engaging with its practical implications.

Chapter Two: An Overview of the Stalking Problem

Introduction

This chapter illuminates the phenomenon of stalking and strives to answer the question: *What is stalking?* First, a review of the behavioural construct known as 'stalking' is provided and, as part of this review, the perceptions of stalking are explored. In pursuit of explicating the problem, part of this chapter focusses on the evolutionary theory of stalking (Duntley & Buss, 2010). This is followed by an overview of existing criminal legislation in Western jurisdictions enacted to address stalking, in particular, the laws applicable to the jurisdiction from which the study originated — Queensland, Australia. Of significance, this chapter provides a discursive review of other legal remedies to combat stalking — most notably, restraining orders against those who stalk.

The Offence of Stalking

The literature reveals a conspicuous lack of consensus in relation to the definition of stalking (Boon & Sheridan, 2002; Jordan, Wilcox & Pritchard, 2007; Westrup & Fremouw, 1998). Available definitions markedly differ and, indeed, psychiatric literature on stalking has been 'hampered by the difficulty arriving at an agreed definition' (Stocker & Nielssen, 2000, p.5). This offence category has been described as being nested within the wider spectrum of gendered and sexual violence as a 'hidden type of intrusion' (Korkodeilou, 2016, p.256) and recently designated 'a distinct form of violence within

the continuum of interpersonal abuse' (Basile & Hall, 2011; Korkodeilou, 2016, p.256). Discordant conceptualisations of stalking have led to varied definitions being adopted by legislative bodies in different places at different times.

The motivations for engaging in stalking are 'complex and varied' (StalkInc, 2015). Stalking is not a new behaviour; rather, it has been discovered and constructed as a way to conceptualise particular forms of behaviour (Meloy, 1999; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000). Stalking is not a mental illness; rather, it is a set of behaviours that are now criminalised (StalkInc, 2015), yet proscribing the behaviours that constitute stalking remains a quagmire. For example, whereas stalking has previously been described as the 'wilful, malicious, and repeated following and harassing of another person that threatens his or her safety' (Meloy, 1995, p.258), this encapsulation fails to recognise those actions that are not malicious and are, instead, designed to impress upon the target notions of romantic desire (Stocker & Nielssen, 2000). While behavioural conceptualisations of stalking are invaluable when determining whether certain actions constitute deviant behaviour within society, deference is shown to legislative provisions that criminalise behaviours in order to establish what amounts to unlawful stalking. Too often, perhaps, the terms 'harassment' and 'stalking' are used interchangeably; however, across most of the research literature, stalking is regarded as a pattern of persistent harassment (Ferreira & Matos, 2013; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009). That is, harassment is much broader than stalking. Indeed, it has been recognised that 'stalking is harassment, but not all harassment should be seen as stalking' (Dennison & Thomson, 2005, p.387).

Prior to national media groups in the United States, circa 1990, using the term 'stalking' to refer to the pursuit of a person of interest — specifically Hollywood celebrities — the

etymology of stalking derived from practices found in hunting (Davis, Frieze & Maiuro, 2002), and ordinarily meant 'the act of following one's prey and walking stealthily' (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000, p.3). An early working definition referred to stalking as 'a constellation of behaviours in which one individual inflicts on another repeated unwanted intrusions and communications' (Pathé & Mullen, 1997, p.12). Several authors have successfully managed, through their research, to navigate the boundaries between unwanted pursuit and criminal behaviour (Dennison & Thompson, 2000; Dennison, 2007; Dutton & Winstead, 2006). Seminal research found that 58 per cent of stalkers' motivations came from not accepting the end of a romantic relationship (Hall, 1997). Another study found that 22 per cent of interviewed women reported that their ex-partners refused to accept that the relationship was over (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001b). Despite research suggesting that stalkers engage in broadly similar patterns of activity (e.g., following, contacting), stalking has been described as an 'elusive crime' (Sheridan & Davies, 2001, p.143), and from a survey of perceptions it was concluded that 'as far as the general public is concerned, it may be that stalking is like great art: they cannot define it, but they know it when they see it' (Sheridan & Davies, 2001, p.134).

A 2002 report compiled in the United States (Office of Victims of Crime, NCJRS, 2002) defined stalking as 'virtually any unwanted contact between two people that directly or indirectly communicates a threat or places the victim in fear'. Understandably, legal standards are somewhat more circumscribed. A further developed, yet somewhat legalistic, definition of stalking is 'a single-minded pursuit of another despite continued rejection, causing fear and apprehension' (Ogilvie, 2000, p.10). Early research within the Los Angeles Police's Threat Management Unit bore a clear finding that the majority of

stalking cases involve ordinary citizens and that being followed was not merely a crime exclusive to celebrities (Palarea, Zona, Lane & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1999). Similar early work defined stalking as 'the wilful, malicious, and repeated following and harassing of another person that threatens his or her safety' (Meloy & Gothard, 1995, p.258).

In their desire to connect with another, it is recognised that stalkers 'do not stick to activities on a list' (Infield & Platford, 2002, p.221), which further supports the notion that stalking is an 'elusive' offence (Sheridan & Davies, 2001, p.143). Generally, there are two common types of behaviours experienced by victims of stalking, namely, 'approach' behaviours and/or 'surveillance' of the victim (Fisher, 2001). Stalking behaviours may be the product of an offender's skewed perceptions, with a belief that overconfident actions, however inappropriate, will generate reciprocal interest (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000). Such overt and intrusive behaviour can be found within popular literature, media and film. The notion that a zealous pursuer will gain the attention, and later, indeed, affections, of their target is central to the theme of several notable fictionalised treatments.

By way of example, *The Notebook*, a 2004 American romantic drama film directed by Nick Cassavetes and based on a 1996 novel of the same name by Nicholas Sparks, captures this view (Internet Movie Database, 2015). The film's protagonist (Noah) is portrayed by Ryan Gosling, and his paramour (Allie) is played by Rachel McAdams, with the story detailing the pair's 1940s romance. The film has received several awards and is described as a 'sleeper hit', that is, it gained success after a long period despite having relatively little promotion or success at its opening. In an early, critical scene, Noah meets

Allie at a carnival and following Allie's refusal to dance with him, Noah climbs onto a rotating Ferris wheel occupied by Allie and a male companion. Noah hangs dangerously onto the wheel's frame, threatening to let go at height unless Allie agrees to a date with him. Allie eventually capitulates among a cacophony of laughter and gasps of relief and/or shock from her surrounding friends and fellow carnival patrons. Such overt and life-threatening acts of persistence can be viewed romantically in isolation; however, similar acts are not viewed as quite so poetic when they are set against a backdrop of victim rejection and fear. Indeed, a comparative observation is that 'my generation saw in The Graduate that there is one romantic strategy to use above all others: persistence…this same strategy is at the core of every stalking case' (de Becker, 1997, p.196). It has been highlighted that romantic targets 'who become the focus of such attention may initially frame these activities as romantic pursuit or friendship-building, only later reinterpreting them as stalking' (Emerson, Ferris, Gardner, 1998, p.292). This initial framing of pursuit behaviours as "innocent", by a victim of stalking, may be, in part, the reason why victims delay in taking steps to deter a stalker or, indeed, to take any action at all. To be sure, there exists 'an "invisible line" between what is all right and what is too far — and men and women don't always agree on where to place that line' (de Becker, 1997, p.195).

The differing empirical definitions for stalking across various studies makes a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon incredibly difficult (Fox, Nobles & Fisher, 2011), and according to some authors (Jordan, Wilcox & Pritchard, 2007), this may contribute to the significant variance in recorded prevalence rates among stalking samples in the existing literature. Adopting a certain definition of stalking when

conducting research can dramatically affect empirical data, especially when relying on victims' self-reporting and, indeed, where the study includes a 'fear' or 'threat' requirement (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). For example, in a British Home Office Research study (Budd & Mattinson, 2000) collecting survey data on the prevalence of stalking in the United Kingdom, stalking was defined as 'persistent and unwanted attention' and was devoid of any specific minimum requirements in terms of behavioural frequency or degree of victim fear. Nearly 10,000 men and women between the ages of 16 and 59 in England and Wales participated in the survey, with results revealing a lifetime prevalence of 16 per cent among women and seven per cent among men — these results are higher by comparison with other national samples (for example, Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). In a study conducted in the United States (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), lifetime prevalence increased by half for men (two per cent to four per cent) and by one-third for women (eight per cent to 12 per cent) when respondents were required to feel 'only somewhat frightened' or a 'little frightened' instead of 'significantly frightened' (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Sheridan & Blaauw, 2004).

Using a broad definition of stalking (two or more unwanted intrusions causing fear), an Australian mailed survey (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002) yielded a cumulative lifetime incidence of stalking of 23.4 per cent, compared to an application of a more restrictive definition (two or more intrusions persisting for more than two weeks) that bore an incidence rate of 12.8 per cent (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002). Generally, rates of reported stalking tend to be higher when victims are asked if they feel they have been stalked than if strict legal definitions are used (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2002; Williams & Frieze, 2005). There is the potential, however, that some

victims of stalking may not immediately identify as having been stalked but, if asked about certain behaviours, may acknowledge their experience — a limitation of stalking studies. According to most official definitions of stalking, victims must experience fear as a result of continued pursuit behaviours (Fox, Nobles & Fisher, 2011; Tjaden, 2009).

It has been suggested that the application of a consistent and unified measurement for stalking that is operationalised will 'advance the field considerably' and produce the most valid and reliable measurement (Fox, Nobles & Fisher, 2011, p.75), especially given the variations in self-report data based on differing definitions. Despite this call for a homogenous approach to empirical research, studies conducted in the field of stalking continue to employ varied definitions. In the face of great variance across the many jurisdictions that have recognised, defined and/or drafted legislation to target stalking, it is difficult to envisage a time when a unified measurement for stalking would be operational.

Within the research literature, there is a clear variance among the terms employed to define stalking. In an attempt to delineate and differentiate the nebulous behaviours of stalking, a range of terms has been employed to describe the offence and related phenomena. They include: obsessive relation intrusion (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998); obsessional following (Meloy, 1996); obsessional harassment (Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995); unwanted pursuit behaviours (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen & Rohling, 2000); pre-stalking (Emerson, Ferris & Gardner, 1998); and criminal stalking (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). For example, obsessional following is defined as 'an abnormal or long-term pattern of threat or harassment directed toward a specific individual' (Meloy & Gothard, 1995, p.259). Obsessive relational intrusion (ORI) is the

‘repeated and unwanted pursuit and invasion of one’s sense of physical or symbolic privacy by another person, either stranger or acquaintance, who desires and/or presumes an intimate relationship’ (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998, pp.234–235). Broadly defined, unwanted pursuit behaviours (‘UPB’) include any unsolicited activities undertaken by a person in the hope of establishing a romantic relationship between individuals who are not currently engaged with each other amorously (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen & Rohling, 2000). To be clear, stalking is considered to be a severe form of unwanted pursuit (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004).

Many of the terms outlined above do not attempt to define stalking per se, but instead provide a comprehensive overview of behaviours synonymous with and/or encompassing stalking-related patterns of behaviour. Criminal stalking was suggested to draw a viable distinction between the more pathological, dangerous and illicit forms of pursuit behaviour and the occurrence of common forms of obsessive relational intrusion (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). For those celebrities who experience stalking, a separate definition has been proffered as ‘repeated attempts to make inappropriate communications, contact, or approach in a manner which creates concerns and/or fear, either in the public figure or those that protect them’ (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009, p.197). Arguably, the utility of many of these nuanced definitions such as the one above exclusive to celebrities remains situational and cannot be applied in a broad fashion.

A distillation of these disparate definitions suggests that stalking possesses three criteria: ‘a pattern (course of conduct) of behavioural intrusion upon another person that is unwanted; an implicit or explicit threat that is evidenced in the pattern of behavioural intrusion; and, as a result of these behavioural intrusions, the person who is threatened

experiences some level of fear' (Meloy, 1998, p.2). This is consistent with most definitions, for example 'repeated following, communicating, and contacting a person in a threatening manner that causes the person to fear, on a reasonable basis, for his or her safety' (Douglas & Dutton, 2001, p.519), 'a pattern of unwanted intrusions by one person into the life of another in a manner which would cause a reasonable person anxiety or fear' (McEwan, MacKenzie, Mullen & James, 2012, p.392), and the persistent harassment of one person by another in a manner that produces concern or fear (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009). Criticism has been levelled at these definitions, as it has been recognised that (Zorza, 2003, p.8):

> A crying baby's behaviour is probably unwanted, and annoying, and may even cause fear (e.g., if the child is seriously injured or sick), but babies who cry, even if repeatedly, are not stalking or harassing their parents or caretakers.

A definition of stalking can be based on aspects both qualitative and quantitative (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). While there is some agreement that stalking can typically be identified by these four elements: an (a) intentional (b) pattern of repeated behaviours toward a person (c) that are unwanted and (d) result in fear or a reasonable apprehension of fear (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007), it can also be delimited based on the duration or frequency of intrusions (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005; Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). For example, one study required episodes of harassment to continue for a minimum of two weeks (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005), and another required at least 10 occasions over a period of at least four weeks (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999).

Behaviour that one person may find harmless, however, can be regarded as offensive, threatening and intended to cause fear by another (Weiner, 2001). In the past, stalking was considered a crime occurring between people previously unknown to each other, yet we now know that the majority of stalking cases are, in fact, as a result of the break-down of a relationship (Boon & Sheridan, 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Referred to by some as 'relational stalking' (Emerson, Ferris & Gardner, 1998), it is believed that the majority of behaviours exhibited by former partners that are labelled as stalking has grown out of miscommunications and complications involved in normal relationship processes (Dennison, 2007; Emerson, Ferris & Gardner, 1998). Indeed, one study found that 99 per cent of individuals commit at least one type of stalking behaviour post-separation from a romantic relationship (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen & Rohling, 2000). For some, collecting information about a person, making explicit proposals to develop a relationship, and continuing contact despite rejection can be viewed as commonplace activities in ordinary relationships (Emerson, Ferris & Gardner, 1998).

Thoughts of pursuit following a separation often manifest into behaviour and later present as acts that harass former lovers and constitute stalking (de Becker, 1997). Owing to the dangers of an over-reliance on the subjective consideration on the part of a victim, it has been highlighted that 'as stalking is thought to occur on a continuum with normal attempts to make contact, definitions of stalking usually rely on measures of duration and frequency of attempts to make contact, rather than the effect on the victim' (Stocker & Nielssen, 2000, p.2). Moreover, despite the unpleasantness of unwanted communication, there have been calls to establish thresholds for existing definitions of stalking (Stocker

& Nielssen, 2000). Two unwelcome attempts at communication has been regarded as insufficient to constitute stalking (Stocker & Nielssen, 2000), and it has been noted that 'the difficulty with quantitative definition is that sporadic unwelcome communication may not reach an agreed level of contact to be considered as stalking' (Stocker & Nielssen, 2000, p.2).

Perceptions of Stalking

Some legislative provisions proscribing stalking do not require more than two unwelcome attempts and, generally, an element of the offence of stalking has a subjective test, that is, the experience of the victim is essential (e.g., she or he is placed in fear or experiences a detriment). It has been conceded that, as a way to define stalking, the experience of the victim distinguishes between behaviour that is a conventionally romantic pursuit, and that which is stalking (Stocker & Nielssen, 2000). This approach to defining stalking is not without complication, as almost invariably a pursuer and victim will possess radically different views as to whether the conduct in question is harassing (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 1999; Stocker & Nielssen, 2000). There is increasing concern regarding the subjective nature of criminal stalking among legal definitions, and argument has been led that legislation should refrain from listing behaviours and instead include a requirement of negative effects for victims (Blaauw, Sheridan & Winkel, 2002). In addition, it has been recommended that legal provisions comprise a 'reasonable person test' (Blaauw, Sheridan & Winkel, 2002).

With some behavioural definitions adopting what could be considered a 'broad-brush' approach to stalking — for example, 'repeated unwanted attempts to contact or

communicate with the object of attention' (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 1999, p.171), and 'persistent attempts to impose on another various forms of communication or contact in a manner that is likely to induce fear in a normal person' (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2001, p.336), research has been dedicated to exploring perceptions of stalking (Dennison, 2007; Kinkade, Burns, Ilarraza Fuentes, 2005; Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003). Due to the very fact that, ordinarily, a victim of stalking determines, subjectively, that a particular act or communication is offensive, it has been recognised that 'stalking lies in the eye of the beholder' (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000, p.9). Based on early research, particularly victims' perceptions of why they were stalked, it appears that most stalking is motivated by a person's desire to control, or instil fear in, their victim (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). The victim's perceptions of being harassed are central to the construction of stalking (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 1999). Yet, perceptions of what constitutes stalking vary tremendously and the factors said to influence these perceptions are largely unknown (Phillips, Quick, Rosenfeld & Connor, 2004). Indeed, it was recently suggested that further research be conducted 'to explore the processes that influence whether someone identifies certain behaviour as stalking, including how victim perceptions of stalking behaviour converge with legal definitions (Tjaden et al., 2000)' (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010, p.1004).

As part of an early Australian study addressing community perceptions of stalking (Hills & Taplin, 1998) for both females and males in metropolitan Perth, stalking scenarios were distributed which manipulated the presence or absence of a threat and the relationship of the stalker to the victim (stranger, acquaintance, ex-intimate). In this study, 29 per cent of participants reported having had an experience similar to that depicted in

the scenario, which was much higher than the 15 per cent recorded nationally by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1996. Results indicated that the likelihood of feeling frightened and of calling the police were significantly higher when participants were given a scenario of being stalked by a stranger (Hills & Taplin, 1998). For males, a mean of 'somewhat likely' (to call the police) was found in a scenario devoid of a threat and increased to 'likely' in the threat condition. Females were more likely to be frightened and annoyed than males, who were more commonly indifferent and flattered, which is consistent with recent research that found females report greater levels of fear than men (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2010).

The investigators suggested that participants might have been less concerned by the actions of the ex-intimate because they believed they were better able to predict the future actions of someone known to them (Hills & Taplin, 1998). Research elsewhere has also found that perceptions have failed to reflect reality; specifically, findings showing that ex-partner stalkers pose a greater threat than stranger or acquaintance stalkers (Scott, Lloyd & Gavin, 2010). In a study of 315 university students from the United Kingdom and Australia, participants were more likely to believe that behaviour constituted stalking when the perpetrator was a stranger, as well as indicating that they believed the 'stranger' situation was more likely to require police intervention, cause fear, and cause mental or physical harm (Scott, Lloyd & Gavin, 2010).

Another empirical project involving 540 participants approached in public places (e.g., shopping centres) in Melbourne, used a scenario depicting an offender persistently following the target, making hang-up phone calls, maintaining a visual presence in a variety of social settings, and watching the target's house over a period of five months

(Dennison & Thomson, 2000). Results indicated that 'participants classified stalking according to the actions of the accused, such as following, telephoning and watching the target' (Dennison & Thomson, p.159). Indeed, 'even when there was no explicit evidence of intent to cause harm or fear to the target, and even when the proposed victim did not in fact experience any fear or harm but rather an invasion of privacy, the behaviour was still perceived as stalking' (Dennison & Thomson, 2000, p.166). The study found that the relationship of the offender to the target did not significantly influence perceptions of stalking. An intention to cause harm, the consequences to the victim, and the relationship to the target played no role in the identification of behaviour as stalking (Dennison & Thomson, 2000).

Such a finding lies in direct contrast to more recent research (Dennison, 2007), where it was found that female and male participants in a Brisbane sample were more likely to determine behaviour as illegal when explicit evidence of an intent on the part of the offender was present. Results indicated that when the persistence of the pursuer was infrequent, occurring over a maximum of two evenings, even the presence of intent did not always lead to classifying the behaviour as criminal (Dennison, 2007). Surprisingly, persistence was viewed as determining whether the pursuer was likely to have anticipated arousing fear in the target and whether the behaviour was likely to occur again (Dennison, 2007). This meant that conduct that occurred more frequently was perceived as signifying that the behaviour will reoccur, and the recurrence of behaviour was perceived as likely to cause fear. Persistence was regarded as an important factor in the influence of perceptions, specifically in relation to whether the behaviour was considered criminal (Dennison, 2007).

Stalking has been said to refer to ‘persistent harassment over time and is rarely confined to one type of activity’ (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001b, p.164). Due to the diverse nature of the offence, a call for ‘extraordinary sanctions’ has been suggested (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001b, p.166). As part of a study aimed at clarifying perceptions of stalking among the British female population, 348 women were invited to classify a range of intrusive behaviours (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001b). The study is salient for a number of reasons, and its findings are mentioned here to demonstrate what this sample believed did not constitute stalking. Participants responded ‘yes/no’ to 42 questionnaire items and the following three clusters contain activities that relatively few participants recorded as stalking: courtship behaviours; verbally obscene behaviours; and overbearing behaviours. The first of these clusters — courtship behaviours — included telephoning the target after an initial meeting, wolf-whistling in the street, and engaging the target as a stranger in an unsolicited conversation at a public place, such as a bus stop, or offering to buy the target a drink in a public house. Verbally obscene behaviours included engaging the target in inappropriate personal and intimate discussion as a casual acquaintance, and making obscene comments as a stranger.

The final cluster — overbearing behaviours — illustrates ways by which a person may attempt to interfere in the affairs of another, but not to a degree that unequivocally constitutes criminal stalking, for example, asking the target for a date more than once despite rejection, outstaying a welcome in the target’s home, being seen by the target at roughly the same time each day, making arrangements that involve the target without consulting them first (e.g., booking a table at a restaurant), and, after an initial meeting, asking the target if they are interested in having sexual intercourse (Sheridan, Davies &

Boon, 2001b). The researchers claim that 'it is possible to conclude that stalking can only ever be defined to a limited degree: Perceived and actual subgroups of stalking did not match entirely' and therefore 'not all of the behaviours of stalkers are consistent and predictable' (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001b, p.165). They further add that 'it would be dangerous to prescribe explicit stalking behaviours and put into place sanctions against these and these alone. Rather, it would be more beneficial to prescribe intent and leave antistalking legislation widely drafted' (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001b, p.166).

In further examinations of perceptions, a study was conducted in 2003 to explore whether ex-partner males were viewed as more 'entitled' to stalk than acquaintance or stranger stalkers (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003). The investigators were interested in the significance of Lerner's (1980) 'Just World' hypothesis, that is, an assumption that a person's actions always bring morally fair and fitting consequences to that person, or, as recognised by the investigators, the old adage that 'there's no smoke without fire' (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003, p.96). In addition to the attribution of blame, the researchers were interested in the application of previous work on bystander intervention. Using the example of an assault, they drew on the work conducted by Shotland and Straw (1976) which showed that the level of perceived intimacy between attacker and victim negatively correlates with the likelihood that aid will be offered to the victim.

Shotland and Straw (1976) staged male attacks on females with participants located in a room nearby with a telephone available to hand. The female was violently shaken by the male, with the female resisting in the form of screaming and shouting. As part of two scenarios, the first scenario consisted of the female crying out 'I don't know you', and in

the second, 'I don't know why I ever married you'. In the first scenario, where the attacker and victim were portrayed as strangers, 65 per cent of participants intervened; compared to the second scenario, where the frequency of participant intervention recorded reduced to 19 per cent. Participants placed the victim at a higher risk of injury in the 'stranger' context, suggesting that perceptions of the potential injury to the victim were affected by the supposed victim–attacker relationship, and that those assaulted by a stranger were less deserving of blame (Shotland and Straw, 1976). There may be a number of reasons why a person decides not to intervene in a violent situation involving a married couple, for example a bystander may assume that 'the wife's previous behaviour led to her attack, or that she is foolish to stay married to her husband if he frequently beats her' (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003, p.89). Other reasons could be considerably more self-protective; indeed, intervening in a matrimonial dispute, aggressive or otherwise, could result in personal injury and/or a situation where both victim and attacker seek to vent their frustrations on a third party who intervenes.

Using specially designed vignettes administered to undergraduate students at the University of Leicester, it was found that a victim was judged as having greater responsibility for being stalked when their harasser was an ex-partner or a prior acquaintance rather than a stranger (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003, p.87). The findings wholly accorded with the 'Just World' hypothesis (Lerner & Simmons, 1966; Lerner, 1980). The researchers averred that 'perhaps participants thought that a victim who knew their stalker bore a greater responsibility for their own harassment as they must have perpetrated some misdeed(s) in the past in order to trigger it' (p.96). They went on to suggest that 'in a just world, no person is perceived as irrational

enough to stalk someone without just cause: if everyone avoids wrongdoing, then (almost) no one will be stalked' (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003, p.96). The study found that, according to participants, police intervention was felt to be more necessary when the stalker was a stranger, despite earlier research showing that ex-intimate victims of stalking are most likely to seek the intervention of the police and legal authorities (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000).

Also as part of the study, the gender of the stalker and victim was manipulated within the vignettes administered, and it was determined that when the perpetrator was male, bodily injury to the victim was seen as more likely and police intervention more necessary when compared to a scenario where the perpetrator was female (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003). Male victims were viewed as more responsible for the stalking situation and as possessing greater powers to alleviate the problem. As part of this significant study, it was highlighted that (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003, p.96):

> the perceptions of [the] respondents failed to reflect the real world finding (e.g., Farnham et al., 2000; Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Palarea, Zona, Lane & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1999) that ex-intimate stalkers present the highest risk of violence toward their victims.

The study demonstrated that victims of stalking who had, in the past, shared a relationship with their pursuer were regarded by others as having greater culpability and, importantly, viewed to be in lesser need of outside assistance (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003). The inverse was true for those hypothetical victims who had been

stalked by a stranger (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003). The researchers emphasised the disparity between perceptions and reality and called for greater education of the public and those involved in dealing with stalking especially about 'the dangers presented by various stalker "types"' (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003, p.96).

In another investigation comprising two studies that used vignettes to analyse individual and situational variables, it was found that gender of the perpetrator significantly influenced perceptions of victim safety, with male offenders producing the most concern (Phillips, Quirk, Rosenfeld & O'Connor, 2004). The first study among 120 female and male undergraduates varied the nature of the relationship between pursuer and victim (i.e., prior intimate relationship, acquaintances, stranger). The second study among 376 undergraduates manipulated the degree of seriousness, based on stalking legislation in the State of New York. Findings from the first study showed that participants were less likely to characterise the vignette as stalking when the actors had previously been in an intimate relationship compared with being merely acquaintances or having had no prior relationship at all (Phillips, Quirk, Rosenfeld & O'Connor, 2004). Again, this characterisation of harassing behaviours as stalking when a prior relationship existed stands in contrast to epidemiological data showing that stalking is far more common among prior intimates than acquaintances or strangers (e.g., Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Similarly, the perception that male stalkers are more dangerous than female stalkers is inconsistent with some existing empirical data (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001; Rosenfeld & Harmon, 2002; Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003). This aligns with other research that reveals that male stalkers engender more

fear or concern (e.g., Sinclair & Frieze, 2000), even where they do not engage in overt or aggressive behaviour.

In the second study, female participants were somewhat more likely to perceive the vignettes as synonymous with stalking than men, regardless of the gender of the pursuer or target (Phillips, Quirk, Rosenfeld & O'Connor, 2004); this is consistent with other research (Dennison & Thompson, 2002). Also, participants were significantly more likely to consider the behaviours described to be criminal in the vignettes involving third-degree (felony) and fourth-degree (misdemeanour) stalking compared to the vignettes that contained no stalking behaviour (Phillips, Quirk, Rosenfeld & O'Connor, 2004). The investigators highlighted the practical implications of their findings, in particular the perceptions that jurors may hold in criminal stalking proceedings (Phillips, Quirk, Rosenfeld & O'Connor, 2004, p.94):

> both participant gender and the characteristics of the perpetrator and target influence perceptions of stalking and the risks associated with this behaviour. The implications of these findings for the legal system are multiple, including the possibility that jurors' perceptions may differ in a systematic manner whether a stalking victim's claims of reasonable fear are justified. Also, the relatively lesser concern paid to female stalkers in these studies suggests an important avenue for clinical intervention, as male stalking victims may underestimate the risk of harm posed by a female stalker.

Finally, it is worth noting that a study of 1,080 participants (685 females, 383 males), from Melbourne approached in public spaces showed that 'members of the Australian

community do not hold relatively simple, broad, or homogenous views on what constitutes stalking' (Dennison & Thomson, 2002, p.555). Results indicated some variance, consistent with other research, in male and female perceptions of stalking. For example, females tended to perceive the behaviours outlined in the vignettes as more serious, and reported the behaviours as stalking more often than males did. Due to these differences, the investigators noted that, as a consequence, laws are made by male-dominated parliaments and that the laws may not 'reflect concerns of females' (Dennison & Thomson, 2002, p.555). They add that, in the light of this variation in gender perceptions, community education would be useful to advise the public on the general type of behaviour that is illegal as harassing, and intrusive behaviours may be more likely to be viewed as trivial among males. Moreover, it is suggested that 'alternatives to criminal prosecution in less serious cases of harassment or unwanted attention also need to be explored' (Dennison & Thomson, 2002, p.558).

A Gender-Based Offence

Based on large epidemiological surveys conducted over the past 20 years, unequivocally, stalking is a gender-based offence (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox & Nobles, 2016; Strand & McEwan, 2011; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Overwhelmingly, research suggests that women are most often stalked by males (Basile, Swahn, Chen & Saltzman, 2006; Kinkade, Burns, Ilarraza Fuentes, 2005; Kropp, Hart & Lyon, 2002; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). For example, in an Australian community sample survey of men and women, perpetrators of stalking were, by far, male (84 per cent) (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001).

Further, research has found that female victimisation is ‘more chronic and severe’ than the victimisation experienced by males (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000, p.52).

While the majority of stalking research has identified males as far more likely than females to be perpetrators of stalking (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001a; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), it is accepted that among existing research there are differing results by sample composition, with some showing a disparity in stalking victims by gender, and some clinical or forensic samples showing more equitable rates of offending across gender (e.g., Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001). Indeed, a recent study found that among 71 female and 479 male stalkers presenting to police in Sweden and a specialist stalking clinic (50 females and 289 males were Swedish), rates of violence were not significantly different between genders (31 per cent of males and 23 per cent of females) (Strand & McEwan, 2012). It has been averred that male victimisation remains under-researched (Wigman, 2009) and, more recently, it was identified that research should be undertaken to determine whether the same factors predict male and female stalking (Ménard & Pincus, 2011). Further, the extent to which male victimisation of stalking is under-reported cannot be overlooked. For example, early stalking research recognised that male victims of heterosexual former-intimate stalking can feel that their victimisation will not be taken seriously (Hall, 1998). Additionally, in 2003, an experimental investigation on the perceptions of stalking found that males who are the victims of former-intimate stalking are more likely to be held responsible for their own victimisation and considered to be less at risk when the perpetrator is female (Sheridan, Gillet, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003).

A significant proportion of stalking cases arise following the dissolution of a sexual relationship (Meloy, 2007; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002). This correlation between 'ex-intimates' and stalking led researchers initially to conclude that same-gender stalking was infrequent (Meloy, 1996); however, a subsequent large-sample survey in the United States (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) found this assumption to be skewed, with results showing that 60 per cent of males were victims of same-gender stalking. Moreover, a national survey in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010) identified that, among stalking victims, 62 per cent of males and 11 per cent of females were stalked by a person of the same gender. Same-gender stalking has been found to be more pronounced among juveniles (i.e., aged 18 years or less) (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2010). As part of a study of 299 juvenile stalkers who were subject to a restraining order (of whom 64 per cent were male), 86.1 per cent of females engaged in same-gender stalking, compared with 40.3 per cent of juvenile males (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2010). Albeit, criticism has been raised over these findings, as anecdotal evidence (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2000) suggests that victims of same-gender stalking receive very little attention and may be taken less seriously by some, which may obstruct assistance from others (Strand & McEwan, 2011) as well as adequate empirical capture of this phenomenon.

Evolutionary Explanations of Stalking

In a more radical approach, it was recently proposed that stalking tactics have been shaped by human evolutionary processes to help resolve mating problems (Duntley & Buss, 2012). Specifically, stalking assists in the following functions: acquiring new mates; guarding existing mates to prevent defection; fending off mate-poachers; poaching someone else's mate; interfering with intra-sexual competitors; re-acquiring ex-mates;

sexual exploitation and predation; and guarding kin from sexual exploitation. Viewed from an evolutionary psychology perspective, some researchers consider stalking behaviour as an extension of normal interpersonal courtship behaviour (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998, 2000, 2004; Duntley & Buss, 2012). Researchers contend that stalking tactics have two primary forms: those that are intentionally overt and designed to attract the attention of the victim, and those that are covert and meant to be hidden (Duntley & Buss, 2012). They argue that options for mates can be limited by geographical confines and the effectiveness of tactics of attraction and seduction. For some, stalking behaviours can make the difference between acquiring a mate and being excluded from the mating pool entirely.

This theoretical approach is said to align with typologies of stalkers, in particular a well-researched typology based on the relationship context between stalker and victim ('RECON') (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). Applying this evolutionary theory to the RECON typology, it explains the behaviours of those motivated by a desire for intimacy or who are incompetent suitors and are interested in starting a relationship with a partner. Rather convincingly, the theory leans on the findings of research showing 'mate-acquisition' as a motivation for stalking (Sinclair & Frieze, 2005), with two studies showing 22 per cent (Budd & Mattinson, 2000) and 23 per cent (Hall, 1997) of stalking being motivated by a desire to start a relationship with the victim (Duntley & Buss, 2012). The theory provides an explanation for perceptions of stalking varying between males and females and that this variance, in addition to pursuit behaviours being rejected, may be due to the fact that (Duntley & Buss, 2012, p.313):

> Men and women face different adaptive problems of mating in some domains. For example, men can invest as little as a few hours or a few minutes to produce the same child that requires 9 months of investment from women. Because women's minimum obligatory investment in reproduction is greater, the costs of a poor mate choice are greater for women than for men.

Despite its limitation as a collection of hypotheses unsubstantiated by empirical testing, this evolution-based theory of stalking is worth noting. Such an explanatory framework may assist future research in the scientific exploration of stalker motivations and the context in which stalking arises. What remains clear is that stalking behaviours continue to fascinate the research community and explanations, however prototypical and nuanced, continue to be warranted in order to comprehend the complex labyrinth that is stalking behaviour.

Online Harassment (Cyberstalking)

Estimates of cyberstalking victimisation vary (Reyns, Fisher & Randa, 2018). A 2009 study of 974 undergraduate college students (males and females) at a large Midwest university found that 40.8 per cent had experienced cyberstalking victimisation (Reyns, Henson & Fisher, 2012). The opportunity for stalking behaviours to move from the terrestrial to the cyber world is increasing (Finn, 2004; Weller, Hope & Sheridan, 2012). New technologies serve to increase the tools available to pursuers, allowing them to acquire targets with greater ease (Brewster, 2003). To complicate matters, cyberstalkers or online predators can be masked by a cloak of relative anonymity and, despite the world becoming a global village, they may benefit from a jurisdictional safe-haven, particularly

where there is no co-operative agreement between two states (Zorza, 2003). Alongside this, the circumstances of an online pursuer typically provide: a lack of social constraint and anxiety; a lack of sensory information from the target; an increased potential for deception; and an element of surprise when reality does not conform to the pursuer's fantasy involvement with the target (Meloy, 1998).

Cyberstalking is defined as stalking or harassing another person with the use of the Internet, email or other electronic communication devices (Fullerton, 2003; Moriarty & Freiberg, 2008; The National Center for Victims of Crime; US Department of Justice, 1999; Valetk, 2002). Some argue that this definition should include the requirement that such communication would make a reasonable person afraid or concerned for their safety (Finn, 2004; Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000; US Department of Justice, 2000). In the past, recommendations have been made for specific laws to target stalking on the Internet, as it is viewed as an entirely new type of crime or behaviour (Bocij, 2003; Ogilvie, 2000; US Department of Justice, 1999). Others contend that cyberstalking is a covert form of stalking and merely a new means for offenders to pursue their victims — an extension of methods available to stalk or a separate *modus operandi* (Sheridan & Grant, 2007; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Caution should be exercised in siloing stalking behaviour that occurs through different mediums (e.g., via the Internet). It is largely redundant to create several laws to capture the myriad ways in which a stalker can contact, intimidate or offend another.

A recent study exploring police and public perceptions of stalking found dissonance among some UK regional constabulary police officers as to whether digital, online or 'cyber' stalking represents a separate crime or a discrete form of stalking behaviour

entirely (Weller, Hope & Sheridan, 2012). The police officers who participated reported that 'advances in technology in the form of mobile phones and the Internet had increased the number of stalking reports in the past five years and made it easier for offenders to engage in stalking behaviour' (Weller, Hope & Sheridan, 2012, p.330). Further highlighting the prevalence and dangers of online harassment, the police personnel made the following observations: 'The increased use of email/Internet and mobile phones has made it easier for people to contact people who don't wish to be contacted' and 'not surprising when so many people contact random strangers on the Internet— far too easy to get hold of people's personal information than it was in the past' (Weller, Hope & Sheridan, 2012, p.330).

A large US study conducted as early as 1998 exploring the sexual victimisation of female university students found that nearly a quarter of all victims had been stalked via email (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000). An even larger US study of both male and female victims later found that, of those stalked, approximately one in four reported some form of cyberstalking such as by email (83 per cent) or instant-messaging (35 per cent) (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009). A separate survey of online harassment at a university in New Hampshire found that among male and female students, approximately 10 to 15 per cent reported receiving repeated email or instant-messaging that 'threatened, insulted, or harassed' (Finn, 2004). The same study found that 58.7 per cent of students had received unwanted pornography, which could be considered harassment or at least unwelcome (Finn, 2004). One study (Moriarty & Freiberger, 2008), which examined 61 documented cyberstalking cases as reported in newspaper articles sourced from the Internet between 1999 and 2006, found that 'cyberstalking behaviours are most likely to involve, in order

of reported frequency: threatening, harassing, or obscene emails; live-chat harassment or online verbal abuse; threatening or obscene calls to a cell phone; improper messages on message boards; and text and instant-messaging' (Regehr, in Burgess, Regehr & Roberts (2010, p.262). Cyberstalking can be considered as damaging as any other type of pursuit behaviour and can lead to the same types of physical and mental harm (Finn, 2004; Kennedy, 2000; Lamberg, 2002).

The following quote serves as an important reminder of how surreptitious stalking behaviours can be and is an indication of how much more difficult it will become to apprehend behaviours, due to advances in technology (Fraser, Olsen, Lee, Southworth & Tucker, 2010, p.41):

> For less than $100, a stalker can purchase computer monitoring software, commonly known as spyware, remotely install it on a victim's computer, and monitor everything that occurs on the computer, from keystrokes types to Web sites visited to documents read or edited (one example: www.spectorsoft.com). Furthermore, as victims increase their use of technology, it becomes one more aspect of a victim's life that a stalker will try to control. Often, stalkers log on to or hack into a victim's email account to read messages, leave veiled threats, or even send emails that look like they came from her.

Advancements in technology may serve to complicate the offence of stalking and increase the efforts designed to thwart its occurrence. Equally, however, it is hoped that technology may better serve victims of stalking by, for example, producing evidence of contact or unwanted intrusion. Several authors are confident that prior to modern

communication systems existing, motivated stalkers would have used email messages or the Internet had they been able to (Zorza, 2003). The Internet is not the only new medium of pursuit; for example, 'even the telephone and automobile are relatively new as harassment, monitoring, and stalking tools' (Zorza, 2003, p.3). It is inevitable that all new forms of communication are likely to result in being used for maladaptive purposes and, for some, unwanted forms of contact will result.

Typologies of Stalkers

Typologies of stalkers have developed as an outcome of research. While the typologies that presently circulate are many and varied (Cooper, 1994; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Gerberth, 1992; Kropp, Hart & Lyon, 2002; Spitzberg, 2002b; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2003; Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Palarea, Zona, Lane & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1999; Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993), they remain disjunctive, and there is one — that by Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart (1999) — that tends to be used most often, especially in relation to its relevance for the clinical treatment of offenders. It is a multi-axial classification system that uses the context in which the stalking behaviour arose, the nature of the prior relationship between stalker and victim, and the presence of psychopathology in making the final determination — known as 'RECON' or relationship context (McEwan, Pathé, James & Ogloff, 2011; Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). It has been found to assist in the risk assessment of stalking episodes, particularly in situations where limited information is provided and/or available from the victim (see Figure 1 (below), Mullen, MacKenzie, James, Ogloff, Pathé, McEwan & Purcell, 2006, p.443).

There are five overlapping categories of stalker: 'rejected', 'resentful', 'intimacy seeking', 'incompetent suitor', and 'predatory' (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). It is stressed that the categories are not fixed, and that the perceptions and emotions that stalkers entertain toward their targets often change over time (de Becker, 1998; Meloy, 1998; Mullen & Pathé, 1994a). For example, 'a stalker who initially was infatuated with his target (placing him in the affectionate/amorous group) may become vindictive (placing him in the angry/persecutory group) as he is repeatedly rebuffed' (Meloy, 1998, p.278). The most accurate predictor of stalking duration that research has provided to date is the type of prior relationship between stalker and victim, with 'rejected' ex-partners characterised as the most persistent, and 'strangers' the least (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell et al., 2002, 2004; McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Additionally, the motivation of the offender remains a primary issue in the assessment of risk (McEwan, MacKenzie, Mullen & James, 2012).

Descriptions of each of these types are provided below due to their import and frequency of use within the stalking literature and research (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2001, p.11):

- **'The rejected stalker** pursues an ex-intimate, usually a previous sexual partner, but just occasionally a family member or close friend. The rejected stalker usually claims to be seeking a reconciliation though occasionally will acknowledge that he or she is motivated by a desire for revenge. In practice, those behaviours aimed at reconciliation and those aimed at vengeance often coexist, producing a fluctuating mixture of appeasement and aggression. The stalking is sustained probably because it maintains some semblance of a relationship with the lost

intimate, and because it offers a vehicle for the stalker to vent his or her rage at lost hopes and disappointed expectations. It is in this type of stalker that connections to prior domestic violence may be found.'

- **'The intimacy seeker** aims to realise a relationship with someone who has engaged his or her affections and who is often mistakenly believed to already reciprocate that affection. Intimacy seekers are convinced they are destined to establish a loving relationship with the target. They are oblivious to the victim's feelings and in practice often reinterpret even the most blunt of rejections as a positive response. This type of stalker is drawn almost exclusively from those whose lives have been bereft of intimacy and the stalking is sustained because it maintains a semblance of a relationship and provides hopes and dreams for an eventual union. From the ranks of the intimacy seekers come the star stalkers.'
- **'The incompetent suitor** is also seeking a relationship, but in contrast to the intimacy seeker they are not in love, merely looking for a date or attempting to establish initial contact. These individuals usually lack basic interpersonal, let alone courting, skills but despite this often evince a remarkable sense of entitlement to a relationship. They appear uninterested in the other's wishes in the matter, repeatedly pestering and harassing their targets. This type of stalking is rarely sustained, presumably because it provides few satisfactions and this type of stalker usually gives up after a matter of days or weeks. Unfortunately, they are prone to repeat the behaviour with a new target.'
- **'The resentful stalker** aims to frighten the victim. The stalking emerges out of a desire for retribution for some actual or supposed injury. Resentful stalkers usually feel justified in pursuing their target and not infrequently present

themselves as victims fighting back against injustice and oppression. The stalking is frequently sustained by a self-righteous commitment reinforced by the satisfactions obtained from the sense of power and control which the stalking provides.'

- **'The predatory stalker** stalks preparatory to launching an attack, usually sexual in nature. The stalking is a combination of information gathering, rehearsal in fantasy and intrusion through surreptitious observation. The stalking is a means to an end, the end being the assault, but is sustained by the gratifying sense of power and control, often augmented by the pleasures of voyeuristic intrusions.'

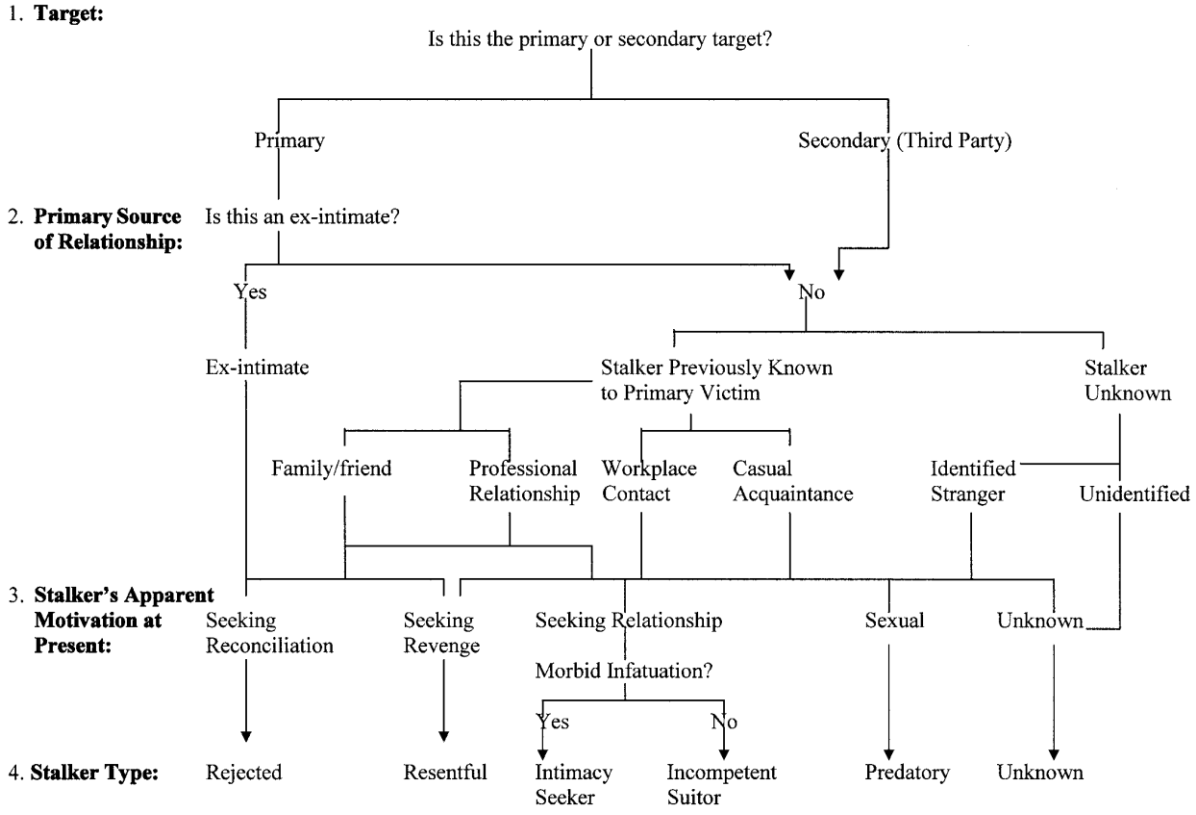

Figure 1: Establishing stalker type on the basis of limited information from the victim (Mullen, et al., 2006, p.443).

To contextualise the significance of this typology, of the 145 stalkers studied in 1999, the rejected group had the highest assault frequency (54 per cent), followed in descending order by the predatory (50 per cent), incompetent (27 per cent), resentful (25 per cent), and intimacy-seeking (23 per cent) (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). Damage to property was also highest in the rejected group (62 per cent), of whom most were ex-partners (Meloy, 2002; Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). In the same study, the average length of time that stalkers pursued their victims varied according to the sub-type of stalking (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). Rejected stalkers were the most persistent, with a mean duration of stalking behaviour of 41.3 months, followed by intimacy-seeking (38.9 months), resentful (18.6 months), incompetent (16.1 months), and predatory (8.5 months) (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999).

The RECON typology features in a widely-used guide to assist in the clinical assessment and treatment of stalkers (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009). Known as the Stalking Risk Profile (SRP), it 'aids in the identification of factors that directly contribute to the stalking behaviour, helps focus clinical interventions, and assists in the evaluation of change in risk over time' (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.5). Moreover, it is stated that as a manual, it can also assist to identify intervention targets and strategies when managing stalkers, provide advice to victims about potential risks and to direct victim risk-management strategies, and also to provide advice to law-enforcement, courts and parole boards regarding appropriate interventions for the management of stalking behaviours (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009). The SRP emerged following a

proliferation of stalking legislation, which focused the attention of researchers on this 'new form of criminal conduct' (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.5). As a guide, the SRP is considered to be a framework to assist clinicians, rather than a psychological test (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.5). Training in the use of the SRP is delivered over a two-day intensive course at stages throughout the year and, on completion, a person is deemed certified as an SRP assessor (StalkInc, 2015).

The SRP is frequently relied on at the Victorian Institute of Forensic Mental Health, known as Forensicare (Forensicare, 2015). The institute is responsible for providing adult forensic mental health services in Victoria, and has a dedicated 116-bed secure hospital, together with community-based programs and a prison service (Forensicare, 2015). Located at the Paul Mullen Centre, Forensicare actively engages in research and has widely disseminated their findings from salient studies using clinical samples of stalkers. Most offenders are referred by a court order and, following an initial assessment, those deemed 'high-risk' are typically seen within two weeks (McCarthy, 5 May 2014). Forensicare is distinctive as one of the very few institutions to focus on the treatment of stalking, with only one similar centre in the United Kingdom — the National Stalking Clinic — an almost identical assessment and consultation service that forms part of the North London Forensic Service, managed by Barnet, Enfield and Haringey Mental Health National Health Service Trust.

Although the SRP is heralded as a tonic for the treatment of stalkers and assessment of risk, it has been noted that (Mullen & Ogloff, 2009, p.1991):

> We are not now and probably never will be in a position to determine with certainty who will or will not engage in a violent act. Relying on a range of empirically supported risk factors, though, we can make a reasoned determination of the extent to which those we are assessing share the factors that have been found in others related to an increased level of risk.

It is further noted that 'the task in risk assessment therefore, is to evaluate an individual to ascertain the extent to which they possess risk factors that have been found to relate to future risk of the type in which one is interested' (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.6). In using any typology to assess risk, including RECON, the SRP issues a caveat in the form of the following (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.10):

> For those involved in the assessment and management of stalkers, it is crucial that the stalking typology employed provides more than just a description of type with common characteristics. In assigning an individual to a type, the assessor should gain information that brings them close to their goal, whether that is developing a clinical treatment and management plan, assessing the need for law-enforcement interventions, or implementing victim safety strategies.

Moreover, it is recognised that (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.60):

> It is clear from research and clinical practice that there is no one 'type' of stalker. Nonetheless, it is our experience that stalkers do share some common attitudinal

> states and skills deficits that are fundamental to the development and perpetuation of stalking behaviour, and these constitute common targets of treatment. Three elements underlie the development of a stalking episode … when these elements — a strong sense of entitlement, indifference to the impact of their behaviour, and specific skills — converge in the context of the relationship between victim and perpetrator, stalking behaviour arises.

Specifically, in relation to the motivational typology adopted within the SRP and relationship-based classification, it is made clear that (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.10):

> The motivational types presented in this manual are used not as simple risk entities in themselves but as groupings within which relevant individual risk factors can be considered. In other words, for each domain of risk, relevant risk factors for each motivational group are investigated. When considering stalking from a risk assessment standpoint, 'this approach provides an immediate guide to the nature and level posed by the stalker relative to others with similar motivation, and begins to delineate potential management strategies that can alleviate that risk' (McEwan, Pathé, James & Ogloff, 2011, p.190).

And further that (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.10):

> Central to the assessment and management strategies outlined in this manual is gaining some understanding of the function of the stalking for the perpetrator. To this end, the emotional precipitants of stalking appear to guide the course of the

> stalking episode, and determine stalkers' responses to interventions in ways that the nature of the prior relationship or psychiatric status alone do not. For example, in a relationship-based classification, a student who harasses their university lecturer is typically categorised as an acquaintance of the victim. Acquaintance stalking is understood to be connected to a number of outcomes; perhaps most importantly, it is associated with reduced risk of violence (Mohandie et al, 2006). However, if one takes this example a step further, it is clear that understanding the nature of the prior relationship offers little help in defining this stalker's specific risks or developing strategies to stop the harassment ... [F]or these reasons, we believe that understanding the stalker's motivation must be the starting point of any risk assessment.

Stalking and the Law

Stalking legislation is prolific (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff, Mullen, 2009). The inherent danger in demarking a set of particular behaviours so as to establish an offence has remained a serious matter for the judiciary to consider in respect of stalking (Lawson-Cruttenden, 2012; Ogilvie, 2000). Most stalking legislation includes the following elements in order of prevalence: the conduct of the pursuer; the intentions of the pursuer; and the victim's response (i.e., fear or harm) (StalkInc, 2015). Where seemingly innocuous acts repeatedly occur over a period of time, such as intentionally sending gifts or ostensibly trivial ephemera to a person, and a threat is perceived by the target of such advances, these behaviours may constitute a criminal offence (Dunn, 2002). Central to the theme of stalking is the idea that a person's obsession with another causes the target of the obsession to fear for their safety. Fear has been described as 'the common

currency of the stalker' (Tjaden, 2009, p.266), and conduct that creates fear is essentially what stalking laws are designed to eliminate (Beatty, 2003). The numerous legislative frameworks drafted by Western lawmakers to counter stalking offences have led to statutes based on 'trial and error' due to the incipient risk of seemingly innocuous behaviour being criminalised (Ogilvie, 2000). Just as there exists several and varied behavioural definitions of stalking, there also remains a multitude of legal definitions of the phenomenon (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007).

The concept that 'persistence' as a method of proving one's amorous intentions is no longer tolerated as behaviour capable of being employed in order to seduce one's interest as a paramour; instead, persistence that is unwanted is treated as behaviour associated with stalking and capable of causing harm, and it has been criminalised as a result (de Becker, 1997). When personal responses of the victim fail to stop the stalking behaviour, many turn to the external machinery of the law in an attempt to stop the unwanted behaviour. Since at least the eighteenth century, stalking has been dealt with by prosecuting stalking-related crimes such as trespass, breaking and entering, criminal damage, and threats to kill (*R v Dunn* (1840) 113 ER 939; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000; Pathé, 2002). Today, most English-speaking countries have approached the issue of proscribing stalking through one of the two ways to legislate: either the 'list' or the 'general prohibition' method (Infield & Platford, 2002).

With reference to the definitional issues outlined earlier in this chapter, it is of note that the earliest published definitions for stalking were legal ones drafted in the early 1990s (Jordan, Quinn, Jordan & Daileader, 2000; Jordan, Wilcox & Pritchard, 2007). The offence of stalking varies in definition depending on where one lives; certainly, across

American or Australian jurisdictions there remains to be seen a single, codified classification of stalking both behaviourally and jurally — see Table 1 for differing laws across Australia (Lawson-Cruttenden, 2012; Ogilvie, 2000, p.6). For example, in New South Wales, the relevant legislation does not require a course of conduct in order for the offence to be established; a person can be found guilty of stalking if they perform a prohibited act on one occasion. Similarly, in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, the legislation explicitly provides that the victim need not feel fear or emotional distress for the offence to be made out, whereas the other States and Territories omit any reference to the victim's subjective response to the behaviour (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004a).

Some level of uniformity across American States exists by virtue of the Model Stalking Code, which was developed in 1993 by the United States National Institute of Justice (Sheridan & Davies, 2001). The Code provides recommendations for consideration by States when amending existing statutes relating to stalking. Definitions and sanctions of stalking, however, vary across Federal borders in the United States (Sheridan & Davies, 2001). On examining the dynamic legislative movement in 1990 throughout the United States to deter stalking, it has been explained that (Tjaden, 2000, pp.261–262):

> in 1990, the California legislature passed the first law in the United States outlawing stalking. Impetus for the California law came from a series of five stalking-related murders of Orange County women in less than a year. The first of these murders was perpetrated against Rebecca Schaeffer, a popular young

starlet who was gunned down and killed in front of her apartment on July 18, 1989 …

	Section	Introduced	Stalking Defined As	Criteria	Penalty	Exceptions
ACT	*Crimes Act* 1900 s35	**1996**	Acts engaged in on at least two separate occasions, which could be expected to arouse the other person's apprehension or fear.	Offender must intend (knows or is reckless as to whether stalking the other person would be likely) to cause apprehension, fear of harm, harm, or harassment.	Up to two years. Unless behaviour also involves possession of an offensive weapon or contravenes a court order, then up to five years	
NT	*Criminal Code Act* 1986 s189 / *Domestic and Family Violence Act* 2007, s7	**1994**	Acts engaged in on at least two separate occasions, which could be reasonable expected to arouse the other person's apprehension or fear.	Offender must intend to cause physical or mental harm or apprehension or fear.	Up to two years. Unless behaviour also involves possession of an offensive weapon or contravenes a court order, then up to five years.	
NSW	*Crimes (Domestic and Personal Violence) Act* 2007 s13	**1994**	Acts involving the following of a person about or the watching or frequenting of a person's place of residence, business or work or any place that a person frequents.	Offender must intend to cause person to fear mental or physical injury.	Up to five years imprisonment or a fine of 50 penalty unites, or both.	
QLD	*Criminal Code Act* 1899 s359A	**1993**	Acts engaged in on more than one occasion, or on one protracted occasion.	Behaviour directed intentionally at a person that would reasonably cause apprehension, fear or detriment.	Up to five years. Unless behaviour also involves use or threat of violence, possession of an offensive weapons or contravenes a court order, then up to seven year. Up to 10 years if done when or because an officer is investigating the activities of a criminal organisation.	Industrial, political or public disputes undertaken in the public interest and reasonable conduct engaged in for lawful purposes.
SA	*Criminal Law Consolidation Act* 1935 s19AA	**1994**	Acts engaged in on at least two separate occasions, which could be reasonably expected to arouse the other person's serious apprehension or fear.	Offender must intend to cause serious physical or mental harm, or serious apprehension or fear.	Up to three years. Unless behaviour also involves possession of an offensive weapon or contravenes a court order, then up to five years.	A person acquitted or charged of an offence other than stalking-may not be convicted of stalking if the charge arises out of the same set of circumstances.
TAS	*Criminal Code Act* 1924 s192	**1995**	Conduct must be sustained or occur on more than one occasion. Acts engaged in which could be reasonably expected to arouse the other person to be apprehensive or fearful.	Offender must intend (knows or ought to have known that conduct would be likely) to cause physical or mental harm, apprehension or fear.	Up to 21 years' imprisonment, or fine, or both.	It is not an offence if behaviour is engaged in when performing his or her official duties for the purposes of (a) the enforcement of the criminal law; (b) the administration of an Act; (c) the enforcement of a law imposing a pecuniary penalty; (d) the execution of a warrant; or (e) the protection of the public revenue.
VIC	*Crimes Act* 1958 s21A	**1995**	Engaging in a course of conduct with the intention to cause physical or mental harm, apprehension or fear.	Offender must intend to cause apprehension, fear, or physical or mental harm (including self-harm) (or ought to have understood the results of their actions). The conduct must have the result intended by the offender.	Up to 10 years.	It is not an offence if behaviour is engaged in when performing official duties relating to enforcing the law, the administration of an Act, the execution of a warrant, or the protection of public revenue.
WA	*Criminal Code Compilation Act* 1913 s338D and s338E	**1995**	Pursues another (e.g., repeatedly communicate, follow, watch or approach)	Offender must have intent to intimidate (e.g., cause physical or mental harm) or the act does in fact intimidate.	Summary conviction: Up to two years in circumstances of aggravation and a fine of $24,000, otherwise up to 18 months' imprisonment and a fine of $18,000. On indictment: Up to eight years' imprisonment in circumstances of aggravation, otherwise, up to three years' imprisonment.	If the accused acted with lawful authority or reasonable excuse.

Table 1: Summary of stalking legislation across Australian jurisdictions (based on Ogilvie, 2000, p.6).

> Publicity surrounding the five deaths galvanized both the film industry and the wider community to pressure the California legislature to pass a stalking law (Beatty, 2003). Responding to this pressure, State Senator Edward Royce of Fullerton, California, and Judge John Watson of Orange County, California, drafted the nation's first stalking law. Senate Bill 2184 was passed by the California legislature in 1990, and on January 1, 1991, became part of California Penal Code 646.9 (Beatty, 2003).

Moreover, it is recognised that 'in just a few years, stalking went from being an activity for which there was no criminal sanction in the United States to one that was criminalised throughout the country' (Tjaden, 2000, p.262).

The difficulty in attempting to capture stalking behaviour through legislation can be demonstrated by way of the following Australian example (MacKenzie & James, 2011, p.222):

> [An] extreme case is demonstrated by a man who was charged and convicted of stalking following the end of a flirtatious text message relationship. After the 'victim' sent a message saying she did not want him to contact her again, he sent two text messages. The first stated 'you're joking' and when he did not receive a reply, he sent another text in which he accused her profanely of leading him on. Although the message was undeniably offensive, it could not be construed as threatening and he did not attempt to contact her again. Despite having no criminal history, he received a six-month prison sentence, suspended for two years. His behaviour technically met the criteria for the offence of stalking in Victoria.

In an early stalking survey of 145 self-defined victims in the United States (Hall, 1997), respondents were asked how the criminal justice system might be improved to address stalking. Around two-thirds of victims reported a need for better designed laws, enhanced police-training, greater sympathy for victims and stricter sentencing for offenders (Hall, 1997). Victims of stalking do not receive from law-enforcement or counsellors the same level of attention as victims of domestic violence or assault (Spitzberg, 2002a). Indeed, 'when stalking occurs without other forms of violence or without threatened violence, it may not be taken seriously by law-enforcement' (Mechanic, 2002, p.48). Others have reasoned that specific laws targeting stalking are unnecessary in the light of those that already exist for trespass, assault, threats and offensive behaviour and, collectively, these laws provide for most instances of stalking conduct (Dennison & Thomson, 2005). The problem specific to stalking is better explained in the following passage (Campbell & Moore, 2011, p.507):

> Stalking is an unusual type of crime, where irritating and troubling behaviour can escalate rapidly into criminal activity. Stalking behaviour also often inhabits a gray zone of legal categorization. Following another at a distance, writing persistent, but non-threatening emails or letters, are generally not criminal offences. Stalking can appear benign; in fact, many stalking behaviours are commonly associated with traditional courting behaviours (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998b). Unlike the majority of crimes, what criminalizes the stalker's behaviour is the victim's interpretation of it, not strictly the behaviours themselves.

Clearly, legislating against such an offence can be problematic, and concerns of over-breadth in the drafting of such provisions remains subject to scrutiny. The impact that over-

breadth may have on victims, particularly when assisting in criminal proceedings, is difficult to measure. Argument has been led to the effect that 'in many jurisdictions stalking laws are too broad and infringe on civil liberties, or are too vague in defining what constitutes stalking thus failing to protect victims' (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007, p.208). Attempts to circumscribe the offence of stalking — for example, by incorporating a provision stating that the offender must know, or ought to know, that their behaviour amounted to causing fear or detriment to the victim — will likely have a dramatic impact on prosecutions (Finch, 2001, 2002; Gowland, 2014). Such limiting provisions, however, could be used as an aggravating feature of the offence, and refer directly to sentencing (Finch, 2001; Gowland, 2014; Ogilvie, 2000).

Some have described stalking legislation as impotent to the needs of victims (Orion, 1997). Education has been viewed as a more efficacious prevention strategy, and it has been argued that a community is better served through the dissemination of information about appropriate and inappropriate forms of communication (Dennison & Thomson, 2005). The early education of young adults on appropriate courting behaviours, so as to make visible the line between what is 'all right and what is too far' (de Becker, 1997, p.195), may serve to curb a number instances of stalking. By identifying and explaining to young people the problems with persistence, as well as alerting them to relevant stalking legislation and likelihood of exposure to criminal sanction, it is expected that those who would otherwise engage in repeated, unwanted, attempts to attract the interest of another would be deterred from doing so.

Overall, in relation to the legal maze that is the criminalisation of pursuit behaviours, it seems that existing laws in most jurisdictions that contain an intent requirement but allow it to

be measured with a ‘reasonable person’ test are ‘probably on the right track’ (Dennison & Thomson, 2005, p.403). Equally, regard must be had to the offender and ‘laws must be sufficiently clear as to what conduct is prohibited so that perpetrators will be on notice as to what behaviours are considered illegal’ (Zorza, 2003, p.8). Too often, passing legislation is considered a panacea, especially among politicians, policy-makers and pressure groups (Goode, 1995; MacKenzie & James, 2011). Some have gone so far as to describe anti-stalking legislation as the ‘bedrock on which risk reduction for victims rests’ (Mullen, MacKenzie, Ogloff, Pathé, McEwan & Purcell, 2006, p.448). However, legislating against an offence is not a perfect remedy, and this is highly applicable to an under-reported offence category like stalking (Goode, 1995). Although the scope of legislation targeting stalking behaviour must know limits, such legislation must also remain sufficiently broad and flexible to avoid the risk that offenders will modify their behaviour to purposely fall outside the scope of the existing law (Finch, 2001; Weller, Hope & Sheridan, 2012). From a victim perspective, it has been argued that a positive experience with legal interventions and the criminal justice system generally may counter the harmful effects of being stalked and can lead to a greater ability to cope (Laxminarayan, 2013).

Overview of Stalking Legislation in Queensland

Prosecutions for stalking in the State of Queensland have been canvassed (Dennison & Thomson, 2005, p.399) given that it was the first jurisdiction in Australia to enact stalking legislation (1993). It was noted that ‘conviction rates rose from 46 per cent in 1995/6 to 70 per cent in 1997/8, but dropped to 43 per cent by 1999/00’ and this was attributed to ‘the type of cases coming to the lower courts with the broadening of the legislation’. For higher courts ‘the

conviction rate was much higher … averaging 74 per cent between 1995 and 1996 and 1999/2000 for 87 defendants, and reaching 100 per cent in 1998–99' (Dennison & Thomson, 2005, p.399).

Queensland has one of the broadest legal provisions to capture and criminalise stalking behaviour by adopting a 'list' approach (Infield & Platford, 2002), that is, enumerated behaviours. Indeed, concern has grown, and it has been highlighted that Queensland possesses the 'most widely applicable and potentially problematic definition of stalking' (Dennison, 2005; McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007, p.213). As mentioned above, Queensland led the way in 1993 by enacting the first anti-stalking legislation in Australia, followed closely by New South Wales, the Northern Territory, Tasmania, and the Australian Capital Territory (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007). In 1998, the State revised its stalking legislation to adopt its present-day form (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007). In the *Criminal Code Act (Queensland)1899,* Chapter 33A, s 359B, unlawful stalking is defined as:

> conduct (a) intentionally directed at a person (the *stalked person*); and (b) engaged in on any 1 occasion if the conduct is protracted or on more than 1 occasion; and (c) consisting of 1 or more acts of the following, or a similar, type — (i) following, loitering near, watching or approaching a person; (ii) contacting a person in any way, including, for example, by telephone, mail, fax, email or through the use of any technology; (iii) loitering near, watching, approaching or entering a place where a person lives, works or visits; (iv) leaving offensive material where it will be found by, given to or brought to the attention of, a person; (v) giving offensive material to a person, directly or indirectly; (vi) an intimidating, harassing or threatening act against a person, whether

> or not involving violence or a threat of violence; (vii) an act of violence, or a threat of violence, against, or against property of, anyone, including the defendant; and (d) that — (i) would cause the stalked person apprehension or fear, reasonably arising in all the circumstances, of violence to, or against property of, the stalked person or another person; or (ii) causes detriment, reasonably arising in all the circumstances, to the stalked person or another person. Under s 359E, a person who unlawfully stalks another is liable to a maximum penalty of imprisonment for five years, or seven years is they use violence, possess a weapon, or contravene an injunction ordered by a court.

Queensland courts have remained in step with advancements in technology, for example texting and using the Internet to contact another. In *R v MacDonald* [2008] QCA 384, the conduct considered to constitute unlawful stalking commenced after a failed domestic relationship and included over 200 text messages. Some were threatening, offensive and insulting. The appellant also deflated the tyres on the stalked person's car. And, in *R v Henderson* [2013] QCA 146, although the stalker and the stalked person had not physically met, the court nevertheless recognised that contact via social media (e.g., Facebook), telephone and text messaging were deemed capable of constituting stalking.

Queensland legislation is broad for a number of reasons, including the fact that acts of stalking do not need to occur on two or more occasions, provided that a single act is 'protracted'. Queensland courts have interpreted the meaning of a protracted act; for example, in *R v NL* [2011] QCA 113, 24 hours was considered insufficient to amount to 'protracted'. Fraser J noted that the stalker grossly overreacted to the breakdown of a long-term relationship and required money to travel interstate to visit family. At [21]: 'That by no means excuses the offences, but

it does distinguish the case from those stalking offences where an offender importunately pursues a former partner for a protracted period.' In another case, *C v H* [2003] QCA 493, the criterion of 'protracted' was not satisfied when, within three days, there had been a note, a telephone call and a second note. Rather, these communications were viewed as conduct constituting 'on more than one occasion'. Mullins J noted that one of the letters was two pages in length, and that this did not constitute 'protracted' for the purposes of the section.

Australian legislators in general 'have resolved that fear and harm should not be prerequisites to establish the offence of stalking to ensure that resilient or otherwise unaffected victims are not denied appropriate legal recourse' (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004, p.164). Nevertheless, Queensland legislation provides that the stalking behaviour must be an act that *would* cause a person fear, that is, the intended victim need not know that they are being stalked. Moreover, the acts need only cause a victim detriment, which has been widely defined under s 359A of the *Criminal Code Act (Queensland) 1899* as:

> apprehension or fear of violence to, or against property of, the stalked person or another person; (b) serious mental, psychological or emotional harm; (c) prevention or hindrance from doing an act a person is lawfully entitled to do; (d) compulsion to do an act a person is lawfully entitled to abstain from doing. Examples of paragraph (c) A person no longer walks outside the person's place of residence or employment. A person significantly changes the route or form of transport the person would ordinarily use to travel to work or other places. Example of paragraph (d) A person sells a property the person would not otherwise sell.

In the absence of fear, there must be actual detriment, and it must reasonably arise in all the circumstances: *R v Vaughan* [2010] QCA 268 at [23]. In *Vaughan,* the stalked person stopped catching a bus and no longer exhibited work in the art gallery where she had met the stalker. These were considered examples of detriment. The legislation also provides for examples that are not considered stalking, for example, s 359D(e) allows for 'reasonable conduct engaged in by a person to obtain or give information that the person has a legitimate interest in obtaining or giving'. In a recent case, *Barlow v Queensland Police Service* [2014] QDC 32, s 359D(e) was held not to be satisfied when the stalker was interviewed by the stalked person with a view to sharing accommodation, and the stalker inappropriately touched items of clothing and jewellery in the unit, discussed sexual experiences, grabbed the stalked person's foot and offered her a foot massage, and used her iPad.

Curiously, the *Bail Act 1980* (Qld) imposes a burden on persons charged with stalking. Ordinarily, there is a presumption that bail will be granted to a person who has not been convicted of an offence (s 9 of the *Bail Act*). However, where a person stands accused of committing an offence under Chapter 33A, s 359B of the *Criminal Code Act (Queensland)1899*, Unlawful Stalking, that person is required, pursuant to s 16 of the *Bail Act*, to 'show cause' as to why their detention in custody is not justified. Indeed, a grantor (the court or police officer) must refuse to grant bail unless the defendant satisfies the court that they do not pose an unacceptable risk. This 'show cause' burden is reserved for, among other situations, accused persons who are alleged to have committed an indictable offence while at large, are alleged to have committed an indictable offence using a firearm, or are accused of committing murder. Having to convince a court or police officer to grant bail creates an additional hurdle for an

accused at the early stages of the criminal justice system. This imposition ensures that those deciding bail consider the level of unacceptable risk in allowing the defendant to remain in the community. Further, the *Bail Act* stipulates that if the person is granted bail, the grantor must include in the order a statement of the reasons for granting bail (s 16(3)(f)).

In so far as stalking is considered beyond the realm of attracting criminal sanction, it can also give rise to tortious action capable of entitling an injured party (a victim) to damages (i.e., monetary compensation). In *Grosse v Purvis* [2003] QDC 151, the plaintiff, a female shire councillor, had been romantically involved with the defendant and both parties had worked together on community-related ventures. From 1992, their relationship soured and in, April 2002, the plaintiff commenced civil proceedings seeking damages for various causes of action, including harassment, nuisance, negligence and trespass to the person. The plaintiff claimed that the conduct of the defendant, described generally in evidence as stalking, fell within an action for invasion of privacy. Senior Judge Skoien, sitting in the District Court of Queensland, reasoned:

> [448] All of what I have said in relation to the tort of invasion of privacy applies, I consider, if the breach amounts to harassment (or stalking) as it has in this case. Indeed, Gummow and Hayne JJ, (and Gaudron J) without dissent from any other member of the Court, recognised harassment as a possible developing tort, separate and distinct from invasion of privacy.
>
> **[**449] Gummow and Hayne JJ (and Gaudron JJ) saw as useful the discussion on this separate and discrete cause of action for harassment by Todd in his chapter entitled

Protection of Privacy in Torts in the Nineties (1977) 174 at 200–204. Todd himself expressly identifies stalking being "…an especially sinister activity" as conduct that would be caught by this cause of action.

[450] Todd formulated the possible cause of action thus: —

"The courts will require evidence of unwanted harassing and annoying conduct which the defendant knows or ought to know will cause fear or distress to the victim and which is such degree of seriousness that an ordinary person should not reasonably be expected to endure it."

[451] In this case the cause of action in invasion of privacy has been presented as a case of stalking, with which I regard harassment as synonymous (para [416]). The essentials suggested by Todd are clearly made out but I see no need to decide whether 'harassment' is a separate cause of action. I would prefer to regard it as a case of invasion of privacy which is characterised by protracted and persistent conduct on the part of the defendant. Thus, I would consider it to be merely an aggravated form of invasion of privacy.

Overall, it is clear that stalking is taken very seriously in Queensland, as indicated by the legislative response and the availability of legal redress. As canvassed above, it has previously been highlighted that the ultimate objective, and, indeed, one that is preferable than waiting for stalking to occur, is to 'reduce and prevent individuals coming into contact' with stalking laws (Dennison & Thomson, 2005, p.401). To achieve this, a recommended suggestion stands out

as being likely to succeed — that education be provided to promote a greater understanding of social boundaries and inappropriate forms of communication (Dennison & Thompson, 2005).

Restraining Orders and Other Civil Remedies

A related concern, and somewhat of a contentious issue, is the use of restraining orders (sometimes referred to as non-molestation orders or civil injunctions) against stalking offenders (de Becker, 1997; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000). Victims of severe stalking often report obtaining a restraining order (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009; Mechanic, Weaver & Resick, 2002), although this is much less likely among university students (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000). Generally, an application can be made by a victim of stalking to a civil court to enjoin a stalker from making any further contact with them. Every Australian jurisdiction has provisions for obtaining an injunction against a known harasser (Goode, 1995; Stocker & Nielssen, 2000); and where a breach of a civil injunction is invariably a criminal offence (contempt).

Sceptics have challenged the effectiveness of restraining orders (de Becker, 1997; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000; Orion, 1997), describing them as ‘paper shields’ (de Becker, 1997). Stalkers can respond negatively to legal sanctions, particularly restraining orders, and in some instances, they can be viewed legitimately as a counter-productive measure (de Becker, 1997). Indeed, with empirical evidence showing some escalation in a fifth of matters (Spitzberg, 2002), the palpable false sense of security that a restraining order can create has caused understandable apprehension among the community and those agencies who deal directly with victims of stalking (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000). Restraining orders are viewed by some as limited in

their effectiveness, as they are most likely to be successful against reasonable persons possessing no violent criminal history, who have only some degree of investment in his or her relationship with the victim (de Becker, 1997). Despite these criticisms, research has shown that it is common for police officers to suggest that victims of stalking pursue injunctions for protection (Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers & Alfonso, 1999; MacKenzie & James, 2011; Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2002). While criticism is levied against the use of civil injunctions to deter unwanted pursuit, little evidence exists to show that their overall effect can be positive. The use of a civil injunction at an early stage of being stalking to communicate to an unwanted pursuer that continuation of their behaviour constitutes harassment and could lead to serious penalty and/or criminal prosecution is yet to be explored empirically.

Overall, existing research that has explored the use of injunctions in stalking cases has largely thrown their effectiveness into doubt (Goode, 1995; Stocker & Nielssen, 2000). In one nationally representative study in the United States (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), of all victims with restraining orders, 69 per cent of women and 81 per cent of men reported that their stalkers had violated the order. Many reasons exist as to why injunctions are said to be problematic; for example, the harasser's identity must be known before an order can be issued, offenders breach orders with impunity because of lenient penalties, and police enforcement practices are erratic (Goode, 1995).The results from the first survey of stalking victims in the United Kingdom (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001) showed that a third of victims had attempted to obtain a civil injunction to deter their stalker. Of the injunctions successfully obtained, 79 per cent were subsequently breached by the offender. Similarly, in a summary of the findings from 32 studies investigating restraining orders, it was reported that an average of 40 per cent were violated.

Another review of nine empirical studies, estimated that restraining orders are followed by escalation of violence or stalking in approximately 21 per cent of cases (Spitzberg, 2002).

Female victims of stalking are significantly more likely than male victims to obtain a restraining order (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Ex-intimate stalkers appear to be most likely to continue to contact a victim following legal interventions (including issuance of non-contact orders), and stranger stalkers are least likely to continue contact behaviour (Mohandie, Meloy, Green-McGowan & Williams, 2006). From an early review of the merits and limitations of restraining orders (Hall, 1998), it was pointed out that their downfall lies in their lack of enforcement and the subsequent message (of futility) that is then conveyed to the pursuer. The same review (Hall, 1998) found that 60 per cent of stalking victims who had their orders violated suffered violence.

A more nuanced problem from pursuing injunctive relief is the risk that by serving an order on a stalker, a victim's residential address (which may be a new location as a result of their ordeal) may be revealed in legal documents (MacKenzie & James, 2011). One instance of legal redress being manipulated was observed where 'the accused stalker entered a not guilty plea and forfeited legal representation in anticipation that he would be able both to talk to the victim through questioning her in court, and to gain full access to the legal documentation containing her new address' (MacKenzie & James, 2011). Clearly such a scenario is not likely to be widespread and there are administrative procedures in place to ensure confidentiality in more jurisdictions.

A great concern is that victims who obtain restraining orders are exposed to an increased risk of physical harm immediately following the issuance of the order (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000). However, the timing of an order may be critical, as it has been contended that (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000, p.233):

> A court order received in the early stages of a stalker's pursuit conveys the victim's attitude at the outset, and is likely to be more effective than one that is obtained after months or even years of stalking, when the stalker's emotional investment in the relationship has intensified and the stalker may well be left to wonder why now?

It is important to carefully to assess which cases may benefit from an injunction (de Becker, 1997). Much can depend on the emotional investment that has been made by the stalker and whether warnings and interventions have previously been ignored (de Becker, 1997). Evidently, it is preferable that an order drafted to control the specific behaviours of a stalker should be sought in the early stages of the harassment so as to demonstrate, unequivocally, that the victim fears for his or her safety and does not want to engage in a relationship with the offender. Specifically, argument has been led to the effect that 'restraining orders obtained soon after a pursuer has ignored a single explicit rejection will carry more clout and less risk that those obtained after many months or years of stalking' (de Becker, 1997, p.205).

In a similar vein, it is claimed that only a particular type of stalker, the naïve pursuer, is capable of responding positively to a court order (de Becker, 2002). This type of stalker is one who simply does not realise the inappropriateness of his or her actions and therefore benefits from a formal direction, by the court, addressing his or her behaviour. In the context of one

particular typology of stalkers, 'mad, bad, and sad' (Finch, 2001), the naïve pursuer would be described as 'sad' and, according to the suggestion of others (Gowland, 2014), may also respond well to a police warning. To date, no study has explored whether the timing of an order sought against an offender by a victim is capable of affecting the likelihood of that order being breached. Nor, in fact, has there been any empirical evidence to show a relationship between the intensity and duration of stalking, and the use of a civil injunction. In the light of the prevalence of injunctions, it has been recommended that research is required 'on the specific relationship between the violation of protective orders by stalkers and the efficacy of civil protection against these offenders' (Jordan, Logan, Walker & Nigoff, 2003, p.162).

It is posited that orders be sought only following careful consideration of the particular case, otherwise an order creates false expectations of security, and may escalate the risk of harm to a victim (Spitzberg, 2002). According to the Threat Management Unit in Los Angeles, one of the first policing agencies specifically concerned with stalking, the most important function of an order is not to stop the stalking, but rather to prove that the stalker intends to stalk (Orion, 1997). The significant advantage of an order that many overlook is that, as documents, restraining orders are capable of recording information that can later be used to assist in the prosecution of an offender (Sinwelski & Vinton, 2001). Also, restraining orders can be creative and may include clauses that not only prohibit contact in any form, but also may, for example, prohibit the stalker from impersonating the victim online or from posting information about the victim on social media (Fraser, Olsen, Lee, Southworth & Tucker, 2010).

Anecdotally, one particular constabulary in the United Kingdom (Hampshire) dealt with certain harassing behaviours by way of a Harassment Warning Letter (Figure 2). It is

understood that this instrument was issued to offenders where certain types of complaint against stalking or harassment had been recorded. Such an instrument was used to make an alleged offender aware that their behaviour constituted an offence under the *Protection from Harassment Act 1997* (UK). The allegations would be put to the offender, followed by a signed undertaking that their behaviour is recognised as an offence, the continuance of which would be prosecuted. This quasi-civil/criminal instrument was experimental and no robust empirical data exist in relation to its use, frequency and rate of success in deterring unwanted behaviour. However, there may be merit in advancing formal agreements between parties, as there is some evidence that mutual restraining orders serve as an effective deterrent (Meloy, Cowett, Parker, Hofland & Friedland, 1997). It has been noted that similar instruments that are used elsewhere and referred to as 'threat legislation' appear to be an 'ideal tool to respond to instances of stalking', but they can be particularly difficult to obtain because in many cases the offender does not make an overt threat directed at the victim (Dennison & Thomson, 2005).

Hampshire Constabulary
Chief Constable

Our Ref . :
Your Ref . :

ADDRESSEE

Farnborough Police Station
Pinehurst Avenue
Farnborough
Hampshire
GU14 7LF

Tel: 101
Direct Dial:
Fax: 01256 405170
Email:

12 June 2012

To ADDRESSEE

PROTECTION FROM HARASSMENT ACT 1997

A complaint has been recorded by police from [ ] Police Station that you have engaged in conduct that has caused harassment, namely:-

[ ]

which may constitute an offence under Section 2 or 4 of the Protection From Harassment Act 1997.

This letter is to formally bring to your attention the complaint received. If you are shown to continue with this conduct you may be liable to arrest and prosecution under the protection from harassment act 1997. The maximum penalty on conviction for this offence is five years imprisonment. The court may also impose a restraining order.

Signed : [ ] Sgt/Insp [ ]

I confirm that I have been served with a copy of this notice.

Signed : [ ]

I confirm that I served a true copy of this notice on .

Signed : [ ] Name/Rank/No : [ ]

N.B. If you have any outstanding issues, which necessitate contact with the complainant, you are advised to do so through a solicitor as other methods may render you to further complaint, arrest and prosecution.

AD141a

www.hampshire.police.uk

CRIMESTOPPERS 0800 555 111

Figure 2: Edited copy of a Harassment Warning Letter.

Summary

This chapter focused on the phenomenon of stalking. A critical review of the definitions and perceptions of stalking was provided, which highlighted the range of behaviours that the phenomenon can comprise. Ultimately, stalking is a single concept that has been prohibited in a variety of ways across different jurisdictions. Some have theorised that stalking is a product of evolutionary human behaviours (Duntley & Buss, 2012). Thus, the chapter canvassed the gamut of definitions that focus on the behaviours, the intent of the offender, or the fear and harm caused to victims. While not abandoning the pursuit of an agreed-upon definition, the conclusion is that, in general, stalking is similar to great art: it is incapable of definition, but people know it when they see it (Sheridan & Davies, 2001).

As part of unpacking the varying definitions of stalking, it was also highlighted that there is a significant discrepancy in the empirical literature between the perceptions and the reality of stalking, where many victims or members of the public perceive stalking by strangers and by males as being the most serious and more prevalent. It is also the case that there are many different types of stalkers such as an 'intimacy-seeker' versus a 'predatory' one. There was also acknowledgment of the changing nature of stalking with the growing trend for people to use mobile technology and share information in the virtual realm which has enlarged the practical opportunities for stalkers to pursue victims. The variety of stalking types is important for they have implications for treatment or interventions; as well as impacting on how anti-stalking laws have been drafted. Overall, the laws in place to deter stalking appear to adequately provide for many of the behaviours constituting the unwanted pursuit of another. Indeed, as one of the first jurisdictions to enact legislation Queensland (Australia) has one of the broadest

legal definitions of stalking. But, as was pointed out in this chapter, it is imperative that legal definitions of stalking ought to be carefully drafted so as to capture the nuanced behaviours that comprise the offence, while ensuring that general civil liberties are not unnecessarily threatened.

Following this broad examination of the offence category of stalking and how it is defined and legislated against, the next chapter documents studies that have explored the harmful effects of stalking. It also provides an examination of two important features that elevate stalking to an offence singularly worthy of greater attention and empirical research: the duration of stalking and frequency of contact or intrusion. The chapter explores persistence among stalkers and the deleterious effects that stalking can have upon a victim. Thus, Chapter Three adopts a more victim-focussed approach to examine the impact of pursuit behaviours more specifically.

Chapter Three: The Harmful Effects of Stalking

Introduction

This chapter explores the pernicious and, often, insidious nature of stalking, by identifying the potentially harmful consequences to those who are exposed to pursuit behaviours. Crucially, an overview of research examining the effects that duration and frequency of stalking have on victims is provided. This overview informs the central analytical focus of this thesis — that duration and frequency of stalking are capable of being reduced by examining victim responses. Thus, the previous chapters have centred on the offence of stalking, its attendant laws, and what is known about stalkers; but this chapter addresses the impact on victims more directly. The toll of being stalked is virtually unlimited, that is, a victim can suffer physical, psychological, emotional, or financial injury and, indeed, their social life can be affected. By examining the risk factors associated with being stalked, this chapter reinforces both the importance of the present study and the need for improved crime prevention strategies to protect victims of stalking from prolonged instances of pursuit.

A 'Public Health Issue'

Considered an extra-ordinary type of crime, stalking is characterised by the targeted repetition of an ostensibly ordinary or routine behaviour (Boon & Sheridan, 2002). Described as the 'crime of the nineties' (Boon & Sheridan, 2002; Daly, 1996), awareness of stalking developed

throughout that decade as a direct result of instances of public figures becoming the targets of obsessional followers, capturing the attention of the media and later creating a culture and lucrative industry concerned with 'risk' and 'threat' assessment for those deemed in jeopardy as high-profile individuals within society. During this early period, stalking, as a legal nuance, received considerable attention from clinicians and researchers, and the effects, particularly the harm and consequences of stalking, were explored (Brewster, 1999; Hall, 1998; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Since then, the majority of research conducted in the field of stalking and harassment has been directed at the risk of violence (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Brewster, 1999; Meloy, 2003; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002; Rosenfeld & Harmon, 2002; Sheridan & Davies, 2001a; Zona, Palarea & Lane, 1998). More recently, however, focus has shifted toward greater emphasis on the relationship between offender and victim and the persistence of stalking (Bjorklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvnane, 2010; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; McEwan, Mullen & Mackenzie, 2009). Despite the bulk of literature relating to various aspects of stalking, little remains known about how this offence may be curtailed or prevented or, in fact, how a persistent stalker might be thwarted in his or her behaviour (Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003).

Prevalence studies of stalking have provided insight into the number of females affected by the phenomenon at some stage in their lives (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012; 1996; Keuhner & Gass, 2005; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Judging by such studies, those seeking to prevent stalking would be justified in viewing it epidemiologically as a 'disease' (de Becker, 1997) and a 'public health issue' (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012, p.348). It is accepted that stalking is deleterious to the health of victims, and

can have a devastating impact on their physical and mental wellbeing (Mackenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James & Ogloff, 2009; Pathé, 1997; 2002), with a majority of victims reporting heightened anxiety (Pathé & Mullen, 1997). Alongside harmful coping mechanisms such as regular and excessive alcohol consumption (Pathé, 2002), 'commonly reported symptoms include feelings of powerlessness, helplessness and violation, aggressive thoughts towards the perpetrator, guilt (however misplaced), anxiety (most often manifest as 'jumpiness', 'shakes', panic attacks and hyper alertness), [and] poor concentration' (Pathé, 2002, p.52). Other psychological effects include depression and fear (Brewster, 1999; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002; Nicastro et al., 2000). Additionally, victims may experience physical problems including a lack of motivation, nausea, headaches, altered bowel habit, and impaired appetite disturbances that can lead to weight loss or weight gain (Brewster, 1999; Nicastro et al., 2000; Pathé, 2002).

Using data obtained from the National Violence Against Women Study (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), one of the earliest investigations to explore the association between mental and physical health and stalking by degree of victim fear found, unsurprisingly, that among both men and women, being a victim of stalking was associated with adverse health status (Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002). Both genders reported a greater likelihood of having developed a chronic disease (hypertension or heart disease, diabetes, arthritis or connective tissue disease, asthma or emphysema and cancer) since being stalked and of having been injured (Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002). The same report found higher levels of fear to be associated with poorer health outcomes, although this correlation was not as strong, or as consistent, among male victims (Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002).

Specific studies examining the effects of stalking to victims collectively paint a uniform picture. An Australian study that distributed questionnaires among 100 stalking victims who either contacted the investigators and/or were referred to their clinic, found that common effects of stalking were heightened anxiety (83 per cent), chronic sleep disturbance (74 per cent), excessive tiredness or weakness (55 per cent), appetite disturbance (48 per cent), frequent headaches (47 per cent), and persistent nausea (30 per cent) (Pathé & Mullen, 1997). A separate study finalised in 1999 interviewed 187 American females who had in the past five years been pursued by a former-intimate (Brewster, 1999). Participants were located through US-based victim-or law-enforcement agencies. Findings indicated that victims become very distrustful or suspicious (44 per cent), fearful (42 per cent), nervous (31 per cent), angry (27 per cent), paranoid (36 per cent), and depressed (21 per cent) (Brewster, 1999). The same victims generally scored in the clinical range for symptoms of trauma that included sadness, insomnia, tension and restless sleep (Brewster, 1999). In another US study conducted in 1998, 145 self-report victims of stalking were asked to contact a regional voice mailbox service set up in seven target cities (Hall, 1998). Many of the victims reported they had become extra cautious (73 per cent), more easily frightened (48 per cent), more paranoid (39 per cent), less outgoing (37 per cent), and more aggressive (10 per cent) (Hall, 1998).

Epidemiological data from a postal survey conducted with a randomly selected sample from the population of a middle-sized German city found that of the 12 per cent who identified as being stalked various injurious physical and mental symptoms in were reported (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005). These included agitation (56 per cent), anxiety (44 per cent), sleep disturbances (41 per cent), stomach trouble (35 per cent), depression (28 per cent), headaches (14 per cent) and panic attacks (12 per cent). Consistent with other research, it was noted that

some victims (39 per cent) claimed to be more suspicious of others, one-third possessed aggressive thoughts against the stalker, and 18 per cent had taken sick leave because of the impact of stalking (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass).

Victims may alter their lifestyle to avoid social engagement (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998) and also incur financial costs as a result of medical treatment, moving house or improving security in the home (Brewster, 1999; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Stalking has also been found to alter victims' personalities, with one particular study indicating that this was the case for an overwhelming majority of victims (86 per cent) (Hall, 1998). Indeed, 'some victims feel they have undergone a personality change, becoming less friendly and outgoing and more introverted, cautious, irritable, and "paranoid" … many feel suspicious of others' motives' (Pathé, 2002, p.52). One study found that a quarter of stalking victims seriously considered or attempted suicide (Pathé & Mullen, 1997), and a later investigation of the psychopathological effects of stalking found that, among victims, several reported a history of attempted suicide and inpatient admissions and almost one-third had repeated thoughts about committing suicide (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). Many victims experience suicidal ruminations because they believe that suicide will be their only escape from an undeterred pursuer (Pathé, 2002).

Despite the fact that existing surveys of victims of stalking have brought significant attention to the 'substantial distress and disruption wrought by this crime and the far-reaching nature of this damage' (Pathé, 2002, p.52), they have mostly relied on acute samples of victims who are likely to belong to the more severely affected end of the range of those who have been stalked (Pathé, 2002). A recent study identified that existing findings are based on data drawn

from clinical populations and are not necessarily representative, making it impossible to infer how a typical person would be affected if stalked (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). Moreover, it is likely that those who attend clinics to seek care have been more adversely affected by exposure to stalking than other victims, perhaps causing the estimated psychological damage to be overstated (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014).

Concern has been expressed therefore that stalking victims may form a 'seriously troubled population' (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002, p.60; Brewster, 1999; Hall, 1998; Pathé & Mullen, 1997). It has also been noted that many studies invariably fail to control for other types of traumas that may affect mental health, including the timing of the exposure to each trauma, making it difficult to isolate and identify the real effect of stalking on mental health (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). Age is also an important variable that is often unaccounted for, generating an implicit assumption that a uniform impact exists for victims, independent of age (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). In sum, existing studies exploring the psychopathology of stalking victims suffer from 'selection, omitted variables, and aggregation bias' (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014, p.565).

Acutely aware of the limitations existing in the current research and outlined above, a recent study has made a number of discoveries concerning the damage to the mental health of female stalking victims (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). Using national data from the USA which pooled over 8,000 respondents from three different surveys, investigators found that being the victim of stalking as a young adult, ages 18–45, significantly increases the

likelihood of initial onset of psychological distress. However, this is not the case for victims aged between 12 and 17 years (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). Results showed that stalking is more menacing and generates greater fear for females in their early twenties and older, than stalking victimisation occurring in early life (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). The researchers tease out these findings by noting that (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014, p.577) for adolescents 'unwanted attention in the school cafeteria or on the school bus, may not generate a great amount of fear in the victim' but for females moving into adulthood 'the greater physical strength of males, the typical perpetrators, at this stage in their lives and the greater sexual urges that come into play' may lead to higher anxiety.

A separate finding of the study that was referred to as 'striking and disturbing', showed that women aged between 23 and 29 years of age and who are stalked without being sexually assaulted are 265 per cent more likely to suffer their first bout of poor mental health compared to those who face no form of sexual assault (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). Clearly, findings such as these draw attention to the unique, dangerous and 'deeply disturbing public issue' of stalking (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014, p. 563). The investigators conclude by warning that stalking prevalence and harm is a significant concern that deserves response from policymakers (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014).

Part of the reason victims of stalking suffer so enormously in a number of different ways is due to the insidious and caustic nature of the offence. There is an element of the unknown, which engenders myriad emotional and psychological responses in the victim. This uncertainty

plays a significant role in the victimisation experienced (Pathé, 2002, p. 51), for it differs from the uncertainty inherent in 'natural disasters' for example where 'loss of control' is to be expected. Indeed, in a recent study comprising qualitative semi-structured interviews with 25 victims of stalking in Denmark, results indicated that it was the unpredictability of the stalker's potential actions that determined the victims' response, rather than the harassment itself (Johansen & Tjørnhøj-Thomsen, 2016).

The harmful consequences of being stalked are widespread, capable of altering a victim's lifestyle at the same time as affecting the economy. The effects of stalking can cause a disruption in schemas about trust and safety of society as a whole (Pathé, 2002), resulting in curtailments of normal daily activities and affecting future relationships (Mechanic, 2002). For example (Pathé, 2002, p. 52): 'nearly all victims of stalking in surveys and (not surprisingly) those referred for counselling report that stalking has had a deleterious impact on their psychological, social and/or occupational functioning'. The majority are 'forced to make substantial lifestyle changes [such as] avoidance of certain locations where the stalker might be, installing additional security measures, obtaining unlisted telephone numbers and restricting social outings. Some victims had resorted to extreme and often costly measures to evade their stalker, with varying success, such as changing their motor vehicle, their home and even their name' (Pathé, 2002, p.52).

There are further, more nuanced, considerations for a victim of stalking, such as their experience with the criminal justice system. Often, victims of stalking become immersed in an adversarial legal system, which may be entirely foreign to them. The experiences of contacting the police, being advised that a case may not proceed against the offender, being cross-

examined and facing the uncertainty of a guilty verdict are all examples of potentially harmful consequences by virtue of engaging with the criminal justice system. Work conducted in the United States using data collected from a domestic violence unit in a large metropolitan district attorney's office found that victims of stalking commonly suffer negative identity attributes and/or struggle with their identity within the criminal justice system (Dunn, 2001). From victim narratives in crime reports, intensive interviews of stalking victims, and participant observation in a stalking survivors' support group, the work observed that stalking situations posed inherent identity dilemmas for victims. In particular, female victims in a complex and adversarial process are conflicted, as part of a social construct, in avoiding a 'victim' identity — one that carries stigma (Dunn, 2001). Many victims, ironically, choose to reject this identity, and to dispel any label that may attach to them, adopting instead an identity of a 'survivor' (Dunn, 2001). The study had the benefit of access to victim accounts, and excerpts of victim experiences are provided. One account stands out from the many ordeals, as it captures the impasse that a victim often experiences of not knowing precisely how to act to achieve an optimal outcome, whether through action or inaction, aggression or timidity (Dunn, 2001, p.295):

> I didn't contact him, period. I never called him once. The only contact I had with him is when he called me and when he called—you have to realize I went through hell from the time he decided that—from—when he figured out we weren't going to go back together, which was in October or November when this all started up until he went to jail for being down here, he—I probably had 10, 15, maybe 20 police reports and—of things he had done, being in my backyard. And for the whole month between November

> and December, I stayed more in a motel than I did in my own house. I had an automatic garage door put in my house. I put it on so I would not be scared of him sitting in the bushes. When he called and said let's be—when he went to jail, they charged him with nothing else. Nothing else happened to him. When he called and said, let's be friends, I was more than willing to be friends. I was tired of living like that, tired of being scared. I'm still tired of it … I just want peace in my life … I just want to be left alone. That's all.

The work identified that in deciding whether to comply or resist when faced with the exacting nature of stalking, victims struggle to define themselves as not responsible for their victimisation and struggle to 'maintain victim identities without violating normative expectations that victims be compliant and not overly demanding or emotionally deviant' (Dunn, 2001, p.307). Refreshingly, the work concludes by acknowledging a key consideration, specifically that 'women are required simultaneously to be victims (i.e., blameless), and to be agents who take responsibility for their situations' (Dunn, 2001, p.307). This dual front, it is suggested, not only engenders another identity — that of a 'survivor', not just as a stalking victim — but also draws attention to the process of becoming a 'victim' within the confines and perceptions of the criminal justice system (Dunn, 2001). This is noteworthy in the current context because it raises issues of victimhood versus victim agency.

Harm, Threats and Violence Associated with Stalking

This section is comparatively brief, despite the import of its content and the existence of several distinguished studies addressing risk factors and levels of physical harm to victims of stalking

(Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Brewster, 1999; Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995, 1998; Meloy, 1998, 2003; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002; Rosenfeld & Harmon, 2002; Schwarts-Watts & Morgan, 1998; Sheridan & Davies, 2001a; Zona, Palarea & Lane, 1998). The risk of succumbing to a violent attack at the hands of a stalker cannot be marginalised and, regrettably, research affirms the pervasive danger as credible. Victims are often concerned with the risk of being physically assaulted, and such concern is warranted.

Researchers noted that 'a stalking victim's fear of violence is not misplaced' (Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008, p.801), with various estimates being between 10 and 30 per cent of those stalked (Mohandie, Meloy, McGowan & Williams, 2006; Rosenfeld & Harmon, 2002; Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008). Early work (Meloy, 1998) placed the occurrence of violence within stalking cases between 25 and 30 per cent, which is consistent with findings from other studies (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Brewster, 1999; Pathé & Mullen, 1997), yet others characterise the frequency of physical violence as part of stalking episodes 'frighteningly high' (McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007, p.2). However, a prevalence rate of one-quarter to one-third appears acceptable based on our current knowledge (Meloy, 1998; 2003; Rosenfeld, 2004; Schwartz-Watts & Morgan, 1998).

The aggregate proportions, though, mask higher levels of risk for certain categories of stalking victims. For example, a prior relationship between victim and offender is likely to elevate the risk of being assaulted (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005; Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1998; Meloy, 1998, 1999; McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000;

Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Rosenfeld & Harmon, 2002; Schwarts-Watts & Morgan, 1998; Sheridan & Davies, 2001a; Zona, Palarea & Lane, 1998; Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993). This is underscored with research from the United Kingdom where it was observed 'that the greatest danger of serious violence from stalkers is not from strangers or people with psychotic illness, but rather from non-psychotic ex-partners' (Farnham, James & Cantrell, 2000, p.199).

Based on aggregated research, a strong correlation exists between threats and assaults; those stalkers who threaten their victims are more than three times more likely to go on to physically assault (McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007). A clinical study conducted in 1999 to elucidate the behaviours, motivations and psychopathology of stalkers who were referred to a forensic psychiatry centre for treatment found that threats were made to the victim by 58 per cent of the stalkers (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). Moreover, it was discovered that fewer than half of those stalkers who threatened their victims proceeded to assault them, but the 77 per cent who did assault their victim had previously threatened to do so. It is clear that threats are not all fulfilled, but they should be taken seriously (de Becker, 1997; Pathé, 2002). As one professional threat assessor advised (de Becker, 1997, p.109):

> As an instrument of communication, the threat is most similar to the promise (though promises are kept far more often). With a promise, if we judge that the speaker is sincere, we next assess the likelihood that he will retain his will over time...Threats and promises alike are easy to speak, harder to honour.

Among the clinical sample of 145 stalkers discussed above, 40 per cent damaged property, the most common target being the victim's car; while 36 per cent attacked the victim (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). It was later revealed that in 38 instances these attacks were intended to frighten and physically injure someone, and in 14 instances they constituted, primarily, sexual assaults (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). Of the physical attacks, it was reported that injuries ranged from bruising to abrasions, with one victim sustaining a fractured jaw, and another a stab wound, and, of the sexual assaults, six involved indecent assaults and eight occasions were attempted or completed rapes (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999).

In a more recent study that explored the characteristics of 200 stalkers who were referred to an Australian forensic mental health clinic, it was found that explicit threats were made to victims or third parties by 49 per cent of stalkers (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Of these, threats were directed towards the victim in almost one-quarter of the stalking incidents, and attacks were made by more than 18 per cent of stalkers (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Violence against the primary victim was relatively rare (13 per cent), with even fewer incidents occurring against third parties, such as members of the victim's family or a police officer (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Most instances of violence involved slapping and pushing; however, nine cases were concerned with serious violence such as attempted murder, rape, siege situations, and attacks with knives or other weapons (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009).

Of course, a 'dark figure' exists with regard to the prevalence of violence within stalking episodes, as those cases that result in severe physical injury and/or fatal violence may never be

prosecuted or even classified as incidents of stalking (McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007; Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008). A review of the scientific literature published between 1978 and 1995 found that of 180 reported cases of stalking, only four subjects had committed a homicide, an incidence rate of two per cent (Meloy, 1996). However, it is unknown how many homicides are preceded by stalking episodes (McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007), and this observation can be applied to many other offence categories such as physical assault, domestic violence or even property damage where an element of stalking may be involved. Research exploring intimate-partner violence found that in cases where women were killed by an ex-partner, 76 per cent had been stalked in the 12 months preceding the murder (McFarlane, Campbell & Wilt, 1999) which points to a high level of collinearity between stalking and other interpersonal crimes of violence.

One study exploring predictive factors for assault in stalking cases involving 3,700 self-report victims of stalking in Victoria, found that of those stalked 75 had been attacked, 39 of whom had been physically harmed (Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008). Risk factors for being physically assaulted included being followed or spied on, being threatened, being an ex-intimate, and being stalked for a longer period of time (Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008), which accord with research elsewhere (Rosenfeld & Lewis, 2005). Additionally, there is a strong correlation between physical and mental harm, as results showed that victims who were attacked were also more likely to report psychologically harmful outcomes (Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008). Findings from this study indicated that victims who were threatened by their stalker were tenfold more likely to have suffered injury, making threats a 'real, tangible concern' (Thomas, Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2008, p.804).

One study of importance that examined the association between stalking and serious violence considered a number of offender/victim characteristics to identify risk factors of physical injury (James & Farnham, 2003). The investigators used data obtained from 85 stalkers referred to a United Kingdom forensic psychiatric service for evaluation. Those who had committed acts of serious violence (homicide and serious assaults) were compared with those who had not. Of the 85 cases, 27 involved serious violence, including homicide, rape, wounding, assault occasioning grievous bodily harm, and assault occasioning actual bodily harm. The assaults occasioning actual bodily harm were described as 'toward the serious end' of this offence category (James & Farnham, 2003, p.435). These researchers described some severe forms of violence (James & Farnham, 2003, p.435):

> Of the homicide cases, six involved knives, one a hammer and a knife, and one a victim who was beaten to death by smashing her head repeatedly against the sidewalk. One victim (and stalking target) was a child, stabbed multiple times. Two cases involved multiple homicides. In one case the parents of the stalking target and the family dog were killed, one parent with a knife, the other with a hammer, and the family dog with both. In the second case, the stalker stabbed to death his estranged wife, his 18-month-old child, and both his parents-in-law, probably in a single incident.

As expected, the rate of serious violence was far higher than that observed in the community or other clinical samples (James & Farnham, 2003; McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007). Interestingly, verbal or written threats were made to the victim in 71 per cent of cases (James & Farnham, 2003). The findings showed that serious violence within stalking episodes was significantly associated with an absence of criminal convictions, the presence of employment,

a shorter duration of stalking, previous visits to the victim's home and, finally, previous violence toward others (James & Farnham, 2003). These results are, perhaps, unexpected, particularly that those without previous convictions and those who were employed were more likely to be seriously violent. Conversely, and equally surprising, there was no association between serious violence and substance abuse, previous convictions for violence against the person, or the presence of personality disorders (James & Farnham, 2003).

Associations common to both general and serious violence were a previous intimate relationship between stalker and victim, and myriad types of pursuit behaviours (James & Farnham, 2003). This aligns with other research showing that stalking-related violence is more likely to occur when the victim is a former intimate partner (Mohandie, Meloy, McGowan & Williams, 2006; Rosenfeld & Harmon, 2002). Results also indicated a strong association between general violence (minor assaults) and a history of previous convictions in addition to unemployment (contrary to the study cited above). The study, without doubt, provided the 'first meaningful analysis of the association between serious violence and stalking' (McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007, p.2), and was one of the first empirical works to explore the prediction of violence in a sample that was not saturated with mentally disordered offenders. The study is not without its limitations, particularly as it is not suggestive of general rates of violence in stalking cases (McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007); however, the findings draw attention to the nexus between stalking, its insidious reach, and potentially lethal effect.

Other studies have identified different risk factors. For example, a study of data obtained from official records of 204 criminal defendants in the United States found that prior intimate relationship, lower education, younger age, and a motivation (desire) for revenge were all

factors associated with risk of violence (Rosenfeld & Lewis, 2005). All of the criminal defendants were subjected to an evaluation at a New York City forensic psychiatry clinic between 1994 and 1998 for offences relating to stalking and harassment. The study also found that psychosis was predictive of violence (Rosenfeld & Lewis, 2005). This was dependent, however, on its functioning with other predictors of risk mentioned above (Rosenfeld & Lewis, 2005). A finding of psychosis as a predictor of violence could largely be explained by the full complement of the clinical sample having been referred to a forensic psychiatric clinic. Psychosis has been found to be associated with violence in other studies, and has been deemed predictive of violence in a subgroup of stalkers 'rejected' by their victims (Eke, Hilton, Meloy, Mohandie & Williams, 2011; McEwan, Mullen, MacKenzie & Ogloff, 2009).

Although research has consistently shown that concern is warranted in relation to the risk of violence, more recently authors of a widely-regarded guideline for the assessment and management of stalkers, the Stalking Risk Profile (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.21), reassure that:

> despite the links between stalking and homicide in the public mind, stalking does not necessarily presage violence. Many stalkers are never violent and the vast majority of violence acts are not precipitated by stalking behaviour. Nonetheless, violence occurs in a significant minority of stalking cases and the fear of violence appears to be a central factor in the experience of stalking victims.

The Economic Toll of Stalking

Very little research exists determining the financial loss to the economy caused by stalking (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012). Of the studies to date concerned with the economic impact to stalking victims, three provide figures, and none have examined the cost by victim gender or nature of the prior victim–stalker relationship (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012). With existing population-based studies showing a high percentage of lifetime prevalence of stalking among females (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996, 2012; Keuhner & Gass, 2005; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), comparative crime-reduction initiatives focused on, for example, the threat of terrorism, can appear to marginalise intimate-partner violence and harassment. Stalking receives very little attention from the perspective of a political or crime-reduction budget. The cost of stalking to the economy cannot be overlooked. For example, half of the 100 Australian victims of stalking who took part in a 1997 study (Pathé & Mullen, 1997) felt: 'compelled to reduce or cease work or school attendance' for practical reasons generally because the contact was at or near their place of work or education or because they had 'appointments with doctors and counselors and attendances at court' (Pathé, 2002, p.52). Indeed, 'a third of this sample ultimately felt compelled to change their workplace, school or career' (Pathé, 2002, p.52).

Argument has been led to the effect that a false economy exists that ignores the fiscal impact of persistent and recurrent stalking, for example (MacKenzie & James, 2011, p.221):

> Even if one takes a purely pragmatic approach, the expense for governments and the community runs into many millions of dollars in terms of police resources, repeated

court proceedings, the expense of housing prisoners and/or patients, as well as a reduction in productivity in the workplace for both victims and perpetrators due to a failure to concentrate on their duties or to taking time off as sick leave or to attend to legal matters.

As part of a US study to obtain national estimates of the costs to the healthcare system from Intimate Partner-related Violence (IPV) (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003), it was found that the costs of intimate-partner rape, physical assault and stalking exceeded $5.8 billion (US) each year (Basil & Hall, 2011; National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p.2), of which $4.1 billion (US) was for direct medical and mental health care services. The study was primarily based on research undertaken as part of the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), and findings estimated that $0.9 billion (US) was lost in productivity from paid work and household chores, with the same amount lost in lifetime earnings for victims of IPV homicide (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p.2). Using the findings from the NVAWS, an overall estimate of the financial cost of stalking in the United States was $342 million (US) per year (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003; Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Importantly, this figure is based on a survey of victimisation in 1995, measuring direct and indirect costs (present lifetime earnings, medical expenses, leave/sick days being accrued) (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012), and thus it is expected that this figure may have increased.

In 2003, a US study exploring Intimate Partner Violence found that 43 per cent of victims sought mental health care services at an average of 9.6 visits per person (National Center for

Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p.30). As such, it was estimated that annually, nearly 2.1 million mental health care visits related to stalking, with each visit being estimated at a mean cost of $71.87 (US) (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003). The mean cost per stalking incident among victims who received mental health care treatment was estimated to be $690 (US), with the victim incurring 32 per cent of the cost after private insurance rebates (National Center for Injury Prevention and Cure, 2003). According to the NVAWS, more than one-third (35.3 per cent) of stalking victims reported time lost from paid work, and 17.5 per cent reported time lost from household chores (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p.42; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Overall, stalking victims reflect a loss of an estimated 2.9 million days of productivity —or 10,304 person-years —annually (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p.31). The mean daily earnings lost by victims of stalking were valued at $93 (US), with the mean daily value of household chores lost at $24 (US) (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003, p.31).

Victims sustain financial costs in a number of different ways, for example the expenses and costs associated with moving residence, changing a telephone number, and losing salary/wages or tuition fees in an attempt to evade their stalker (Brewster, 1999). A 1999 report of 187 US women who had recently been stalked (i.e., during the previous five years) by former intimates is one of the few detailed studies exploring the fiscal impact to victims of stalking. Results indicated that 80 per cent of participants incurred financial loss as a result of their ordeal, ranging from nominal costs to costs exceeding $100,000 (US) with a median of$1,000 (Brewster, 1999). Additionally, it was found that 29 per cent of victims reported losing salary or tuition, and 20 per cent of victims spent money changing locks or adding deadbolts to their

property for added security (Brewster, 1999). This is consistent with other research on the social impact to victims of stalking, with losses reported by victims being summarised as the following (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012, p.341):

> … changed or lost jobs or courses of study (7–37 per cent), changed telephone number (14–62 per cent), changed routine (62–82 per cent), moved home (7–39 per cent), reported negative impact on work or study (15–53 per cent), stayed indoors (16–70 per cent) (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Brewster, 1999; Dressing, et al., 2005; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Mohandie, et al., 2006; Purcell et al., 2002; Sheridan, 2001;; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Westrup, Fremouw, Thompson & Lewis, 1999).

The 1999 report also found that one-fifth of victims reported damage to their cars in addition to damage to other personal property (Brewster, 1999). Other research has similarly found that stalking victims who obtained an injunction or protective order against their stalker incurred an average of $610 (US) in property loss or damage during a six-month follow-up period, compared to $135 (US) for those who experienced other forms of continual violations other than stalking, and $15 (US) for those who experienced neither stalking nor any other type of violation (Logan & Walker, 2009a). Also, costs associated with legal remedies can affect victims of stalking. For example, victims may incur legal representation fees, court costs, and child-care costs for time associated with their absence for the purpose of proceedings, not to mention the leave required for those in employment (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012). A further study in 2009 exploring stalking victimisation in the United States reported that during a 12-month period (between 2005 and 2006), an estimated 3.4 million persons aged 18 or older were

victims of stalking (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009). In their assessment of the financial impact to the stalking victim, it was noted that (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009, p.7):

> About 3 in 10 of stalking victims accrued out-of-pocket costs for things such as attorney fees, damage to property, child care costs, moving expenses, or changing phone numbers. About a tenth of victims spent less than $250, while 13 per cent spent $1,000 or more. About 296,000 stalking victims lost pay from work. Over half of the victims lost less than $1,000 of pay, and 8 per cent of victims lost $5,000 in pay or more.

Stalking, Trauma and Comorbidity

The effects of stalking can be prolonged, severe and debilitating. Continued exposure to threat and uncertainty leaves an indelible mark on the lives of stalking victims, and symptoms related to trauma, such as anxiety and avoidance, are common among victims (Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002). Researchers agree that recurring anxiety is the most common legacy of stalking (Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002). A 2002 study examining the relationship between features of stalking and mental disorders or illness of victims attributed high symptom levels of psychopathology to their 'pervasive, prolonged, persistent, and intensive stressful experience' (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002, p.60). The study asked over 200 victims of stalking to complete a questionnaire and provide specific features of their experience. Results showed that those who reported the worst symptoms had a greater degree of 'toxic exposure', which accordingly resulted in a higher chance of psychological distress (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002, p.60). Of concern, 78 per cent of stalking victims scored in the

clinical range of a diagnosable psychiatric disorder (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). The study revealed 'strikingly high' levels of psychopathology among a large number of those who had experienced being stalked, and disquieting figures indicated that their symptom levels were more in accordance with those of psychiatric outpatients than with those of general population samples (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002, p.59).

Research has consistently shown that stalking victimisation is associated with current depressive symptoms and the subsequent development of chronic mental illness such as depression or schizophrenia (Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Westrup, Fremouw, Thompson & Lewis, 1999). Typically, trauma-related stress symptoms 'occur more commonly in situations of protracted threat and where the trauma is perceived as inescapable, unpredictable and beyond the victim's control' (Pathé, 2002, p.55). At this more injurious end of the spectrum, victims can be beset with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a psychiatric disorder concerned with anxiety (Pathé, 2002). An Australian study examining the experiences of 100 victims of stalking (Pathé & Mullen, 1997) found that 37 per cent of participants fulfilled the criteria of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV) (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) for a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder. Victims at greatest risk of developing traumatic stress symptoms are those who have previously maintained an intimate relationship with their stalker, those exposed to physical violence, and those subjected to following (Pathé, 2002; Pathé & Mullen, 1997).

Curiously, it was noted as part of the 1997 study that 'victims indicated that they might have coped better with the more tangible damage of physical assault' as opposed to the 'constant intrusions and menace' (Pathé & Mullen, 1997, p.15). This observation, however, does not

accord with later research conducted by different investigators who found that victims did not cope better with violent behaviour than constant intrusive behaviour (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). Additional research has indicated that female undergraduates exposed to stalking victimisation experience significantly more PTSD symptoms, and with greater severity, than those who are merely harassed (Kraaij, Arensman, Garenfski & Kremers, 2007; Westrup, Fremouw, Thompson & Lewis, 1999).

In the most recent, fifth edition of the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-V), PTSD is divided into five 'clusters' (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, pp.271–272):

A. Exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury, or sexual violence in one (or more) of the following ways:
    1. Directly experiencing the traumatic event(s).
    2. Witnessing, in person, the events(s) as it occurred to others.
    3. Learning that the traumatic event(s) occurred to a close family member or close friend. In cases of actual or threatened death of a family member or friend, the event(s) must have been violent or accidental.
    4. Experiencing repeated or extreme exposure to aversive details of the traumatic event(s).
B. Presence of one (or more) of the following intrusion symptoms associated with the traumatic event(s), beginning after the traumatic event(s) occurred:
    1. Recurrent, involuntary, and intrusive distressing memories of the traumatic event(s).

2. Recurrent distressing dreams in which the content and/or affect of the dream are related to the traumatic event(s).
3. Dissociative reactions (e.g., flashbacks) in which the individual feels or acts as if the traumatic event(s) were recurring.
4. Intense or prolonged psychological distress at exposure to internal or external cued that symbolize or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event(s).
5. Marked physiological reactions to internal or external cues that symbolize or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event(s).

C. Persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the traumatic event(s), beginning after the traumatic event(s) occurred, as evidenced by one of the following:
   1. Avoidance of or efforts to avoid distressing memories, thoughts, or feelings about or closely associated with the traumatic event(s).
   2. Avoidance of or efforts to avoid external reminders (people, places, conversations, activities, objects, situations) that arouse distressing memories, thoughts, or feelings about or closely associated with the traumatic event(s).

D. Negative alterations in cognitions and mood associated with the traumatic event(s), beginning or worsening after the traumatic event(s) occurred, as evidenced by two (or more) of the following:
   1. Inability to remember an important aspect of the traumatic event(s).
   2. Persistent and exaggerated negative beliefs or expectations about oneself, others, or the world.
   3. Persistent, distorted cognitions about the cause or consequences of the traumatic event(s) that lead the individual to blame [themselves] or others.

4. Persistent negative emotional state.
5. Markedly diminished interest or participation in significant activities.
6. Feelings of detachment or estrangement from others.
7. Persistent inability to experience positive emotions.

E. Marked alterations in arousal and reactivity associated with the traumatic events(s), beginning or worsening after the traumatic event(s) occurred, as evidenced by two (or more) of the following:
   1. Irritable behaviour and angry outbursts, typically expressed as verbal or physical aggression toward people or objects.
   2. Reckless or self-destructive behaviour.
   3. Hypervigilance.
   4. Exaggerated startle response.
   5. Problems with concentration.
   6. Sleep disturbance.

F. Duration of the disturbance (Criteria B, C, D, and E) is more than 1 month.

G. The disturbance causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

H. The disturbance is not attributable to the physiological effects of a substance or another medical condition.

Interestingly, the risk factors for PTSD as outlined by the DSM-V include, among other things, female gender and young age at the time of trauma exposure (pre-traumatic factors), the perceived life threat, personal injury or interpersonal violence (pre-traumatic factors), and

inappropriate coping strategies (post-traumatic factor) (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). As part of a stalking study in 2007 exploring the use of cognitive coping in female victims of stalking, results showed that those victims who blamed themselves more for their stalking experience reported significantly higher symptoms of depression, anxiety and PTSD (Kraaij, Arensman, Garenfski & Kremers, 2007). The same symptoms were found to be significantly higher among victims who ruminated more about their experience or explicitly emphasised the terror of stalking, in addition to those who thought more about what steps to take and how to handle their ordeal (Kraaij, Arensman, Garenfski & Kremers, 2007).

Many of the behaviours and symptoms noted above in reference to PTSD, particularly those in Criteria B (recurring, distressing memories), C (avoidance of negative stimuli), and E (hypervigilance and irritability), are common in stalking victims, either alone or in combination with the other features making up a diagnosis of PTSD (Pathé, 2002). For example, stalking victims often report 'vivid recollections or flashbacks of the stalking that are recurrent and distressing, often triggered by everyday occurrences. These may include the ringing of the phone or glimpsing the particular model and colour of car driven by the stalker' (Pathé, 2002, p.52). Moreover, the persistent and deliberate avoidance of stimuli associated with or resembling the trauma noted in Criterion C, in an attempt to numb, minimise or prohibit memories or overwhelming stimulation is remarkably common among victims of stalking (Pathé, 2002). Unsurprisingly, this type of harm has an influence on the way victims respond and cope with stalking, sometimes with devastating consequences. Dependence on tranquilizers is a real risk in stalking victims, in addition to increased cigarette and alcohol consumption (Pathé, 2002). Previous research exploring the mental and physical effects of

stalking found a consistent association between the use of various forms of current drugs (e.g., tranquilizers, painkillers and recreational drugs) and being stalked for both male and female victims (Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002). Stress and self-treatment with these substances can seriously endanger a victim's physical health (Pathé, 2002).

The Duration of Stalking Episodes

The factors that may contribute to the length of a stalking case have been 'virtually ignored' in previous research and are notably absent from the stalking literature (Acevedo, 2006, p.2), although several studies have endeavoured to determine the typical duration of a stalking episode. The National Violence Against Women Survey (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), the largest national probability sample dealing with the perpetration of stalking in the United States (comprising 8,000 women and 8,000 men), found that the average duration of a stalking episode was 1.8 years. Those involving intimate partners were found to have an even higher duration average — 2.2 years (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). The average stalking episodes vary however, with the British Crime Survey (Budd & Mattinson, 2000), finding that 19 per cent of stalking cases were reported to last over one year. A study of a sample of 100 Australian victims found a median stalking duration of 24 months, with a range of one month to 20 years (Pathé & Mullen, 1997). This duration of around 24 months in relation to stalking has been found in other research, specifically a meta-analysis of 175 studies of stalking which yielded an average of 22 months (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007).

A separate study in 2002 returned a longer average duration of stalking of 33 months (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). In addition, among a sample of Dutch

female stalking victims, it was discovered that, on average, victims had been stalked for 53 months (4 years, 5 months) with a duration range of two months to 19 years (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003). An archival study of 82 cases of stalking by females in the United States, Canada and Australia explored the frequency of contact between victim and pursuer (Meloy & Boyd, 2003). Results showed that the duration of stalking lasted less than one year in 32 per cent of cases; from one to five years in 54 per cent; from six to 10 years in 13 per cent; and more than a decade in one instance (Meloy & Boyd, 2003). Another study using a random sample of college students attending a large public university in the United States (Bjerregaard, 2000) found that 25 per cent of females and 11 per cent of males had been stalked at some point in their life (Bjerregaard, 2000). Females reported being stalked for an average of 83.4 days, while males reported a mean duration of 182 days; analyses revealing no significant difference between these two groups (Bjerregaard, 2000). Together, the sample reported being stalked for an average of 347 days. Other studies have indicated average durations of as long as 7.71 years, with a range from six months to 43 years (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001a).

Some 13 per cent of stalking victims are exposed to episodes lasting longer than five years (Hall, 1998), and in some cases, the duration of stalking can exceed 10 or 12 years (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001a). From a self-report survey of 3,700 men and women whose names and addresses were obtained from the electoral roll in Victoria, among the valid responses for those who were stalked the duration of harassment ranged from one day to 40 years with an average of 7.8 months (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002). Over half of the stalking episodes reported lasted one month or less, with 22.6

per cent stalked for between one and six months, and 13 per cent for a year or more (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002). Of note, the duration of harassment did not differ according to the victim's gender (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002).

The intensity and frequency of stalking episodes differ on a case-by-case basis (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Brewster, 1999; Hall, 1998). It has been noted that 'little is known about the impact of specific stalking behaviours and the impact of the frequency and duration of stalking (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002, p.52). More recently, it was identified that 'considering the wealth of research on stalking that now exists, it is surprising that the duration of stalking has been relatively unexplored both theoretically as a concept and empirically' (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010, p.1009).

One research project found that those victims who are exposed to stalking for extended periods of time 'will be associated not only with a more severe course of harassment, but more detrimental effects to [their] well-being' (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2004, p.580). The existing research indicates that the longer stalking continues, 'the greater the potential for psychological, social, and physical damage' (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Hall, 1998; Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 1998; McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p. 149; Pathé, 2002; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004, 2005). This, it has been submitted, makes 'gauging the potential for persistence an important aspect of stalking risk assessment' (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.149).

The risk of harm through stalking, particularly psychosocial damage, depends on a range of factors that include 'personal resilience, existing psychiatric illness [on the part of the victim], intensity and intrusiveness of the stalking behaviours, and the response of agencies the victim might turn to for support' (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.150). It has been lamented that because the typical case of stalking extends over many months, victims experience a constant state of alert or uncertainty, filled with dread and a sense of helplessness (Davis, Coker & Sanderson, 2002; Mechanic, 2002; Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000). Therefore, stalking duration is associated with post-traumatic stress symptoms in stalking victims (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003). Notably, research has shown that a strong correlation exists between the rate of psychiatric morbidity and those pursued for more than two weeks (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2004).

More recently, a study investigated how the duration of stalking may be associated with stalking behaviour and the type of prior victim–stalker relationship. In a survey of 137 university students in Finland who had been subjected to at least one stalking episode during their lifetime, the mean duration of stalking was 296.1 days but with a range from one to 2,555 days (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010). Findings showed that the stalking had lasted 30 days or less for a quarter of victims, 31 to 90 days for another quarter, and 91 to 180 days for over 17 per cent of participants. Experiences of stalking continued for six months or more for 30 per cent of the sample (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010).

It was highlighted that the duration of stalking had a significant negative correlation with stalker age, particularly of the stalkers aged 18 years or younger. Forty per cent of stalkers from

that age group pursued their victim for more than six months (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010). In contrast, 35 per cent of stalkers aged 19 to 30 years, and only 10 per cent of stalkers over the age of 30 years, pursued their victim for a duration of six months or more (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010). Univariate analysis of variance determined that the average duration was significantly shorter among strangers (43.6 days) than among acquaintances (326.5 days) and ex-partners (362.5 days) (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010). Moreover, for 56 per cent of those stalked by strangers, the duration was less than one month, acquaintances 24 per cent, and ex-partners 13 per cent (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010). Interestingly, none of the stalking by a stranger persisted for more than six months (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010).

These data were subsequently used by the investigators to develop discrete victim sub-groups based on a number of other stalking-behaviour dimensions. These were: surveillance, low-profile, social lurker, wide scope, and baseline stalkers (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010). Predictably, the duration of stalking varied according to prior relationship, with ex-intimate partners being the most persistent stalkers, and strangers the least (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010). It was highlighted that acquaintances stalked for almost as long a period of time as ex-intimate stalkers, and in one of every three cases acquaintance stalkers pursued for more than six months (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, Roberts & Tolvanen, 2010).

In protracted cases of stalking, victims find it difficult to engage externally to obtain assistance, particularly to contact their usual social support networks (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp

& Bartak, 2003). This finding is based on the results of a study conducted to explore the individual differences in post-traumatic stress following post-intimate stalking in females of a Dutch nation-wide support group (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003). Results indicated, consistent with other research, that prolonged post-intimate stalking may lead to personality adaptations (i.e., becoming more closed, cautious and reserved) (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003). Additionally, victims reported affective reactions such as self-blame, fear, shame and loss, with associated maladaptive beliefs including decreased trust, increased alienation and isolation (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003). There existed a negative correlation between the duration of stalking and the satisfaction with social support (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003). Such dissatisfaction has the undesired effects of leading to changes in support mechanisms and causing familiar coping strategies to fail (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003). The investigators drew attention to the finding that prolonged instances of stalking may cause victims to experience cognitive changes, resulting in them losing touch with their own capabilities and level of control (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.150; Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003; Pathé, 2002).

It has been highlighted that the 'psychological effects of traumatic experiences such as natural disasters, war and sexual assault suggests that stress-related symptoms develop more commonly in situations where the individual feels inescapably under threat over a protracted period, as occurs in stalking' (Pathé, 2002, p.51). Importantly, there is a propensity for a stalker's behaviour to become increasingly threatening, serious and violent (US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1996). It has been identified that 'stalking activity generally escalates from what initially may be bothersome and annoying but legal behaviour,

to the level of obsessive, dangerous, violent, and potentially fatal acts' (US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1996, p.5). The duration of stalking affects the experience of the victim. It is a crime committed as a course of conduct and is not, therefore, confined to an isolated instance of criminality (Gowland, 2014; McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007; Meloy, 1998; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Intrusive and threatening behaviours associated with stalking are seldom exhibited by perpetrators at the beginning of a relationship or course of unwanted pursuit (Dunn, 2001). The intrusions are incremental, with true intentions cloaked in polite romantic gestures such as sending gifts or buying flowers (Dunn, 2001). It may be difficult for a victim of stalking to know how to respond to instances of stalking that begin with polite gestures and he or she may not identify the stalker's behaviour as criminal. As a result of this, the victim may delay in employing a strategy to stop the stalking or, indeed, take no action at all. In turn, the pursuit behaviours may be protracted. Despite the best intentions on the part of the victim, protracted instances of stalking are of great concern in the light of fact that duration of stalking is a good predictor of several harmful effects, including PTSD symptoms (Logan & Cole, 2007).

Despite the concept of offender persistence being described as 'virtually unexplored' (James et al., 2010, p.288), research has helped to determine the watershed of a 'persistent offender' (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004; 2005). An initial conservative definition specified persistence as behaviours occurring on at least 10 occasions over a period of at least four weeks that caused fear or alarm (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). However, subsequent research has drawn a clear demarcation in relation to problem behaviours that caused fear or alarm: brief periods of harassment lasting only a day or a few

days, and persistent behaviours lasting for more than two weeks (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004). Having first identified that persistent stalking was damaging to a victim's psychosocial functioning, the research sought to empirically define the juncture at which instances of intrusiveness could be distinguished from persistent stalking (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Using data obtained from a previous epidemiological study among a randomly selected sample of 3,700 Australian men and women in the State of Victoria (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002), analyses revealed that of the 1,844 survey respondents, 23 per cent met the legal criteria for stalking. This meant that such respondents acknowledged experiencing two or more harassing intrusions by the same person that made them fearful. A behavioural definition of harassment was used that reflected current Australian anti-stalking laws.

The duration of the harassment was used to delineate potential groups. Using Receiver Operator Characteristic (ROC) curves, the investigators were able to discriminate cut-off periods for durations of harassment (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Groups were initially divided on the basis of a median split in the duration of harassment (30 days), and ROC curves were produced using the number of harassment methods experienced, in addition to lifestyle adjustments on the part of the victim. In order to significantly discriminate between two groups, the data were subsequently re-analysed, again using ROC curves. From the median duration of four weeks, progressive analyses showed minimal difference when the duration of harassment was reduced to two weeks. A further reduction of the duration to one week, however, lowered the sensitivity of the cut-off period, and while it remained statistically significant, for the purpose of discriminating between the severity of the harassment and the victim's responses to the intrusions, it was less sensitive than the two week threshold (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen,

2004b). Of those who experienced stalking (196 cases), for 45 per cent of them the pursuit behaviours abated within two weeks with a median of two days (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Of the remaining 236 cases that were subjected to a period of stalking exceeding two weeks, the median duration of harassment was six months, with the frequency of intrusions significantly higher given a median of 20 (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b).

This two week cut-off is considered a watershed and capable of predicting a number of factors, particularly impact on the victim (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009; Wooster, Farnham & James, 2013). Results indicated that those pursued beyond two weeks were found to be at greater risk of being kept under surveillance, loitered upon, repeatedly telephoned, and contacted via letters, faxes or email (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). They experienced more forms of intimidation, in addition to a significantly elevated frequency of explicit threats, assaults and property damage (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). They were more likely to report that their relatives, intimate partners and friends were exposed to threats and violence (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Moreover, a longer duration of harassment was associated with alterations to the victim's daily functioning (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b).

Those stalked beyond two weeks were significantly more likely to report increasing their home security, relocating their residence, reducing the frequency of social outings, increasing their consumption of alcohol and tobacco, and increased absenteeism from work (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). They were also more likely to seek assistance to manage their ordeal, particularly consulting police and mental health professionals (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Unsurprisingly, the rate of psychiatric morbidity was also significantly elevated among this group (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Results indicated that intrusions that persisted beyond

the two week threshold were likely to continue for months (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Exceptionally, those harassed for two weeks or less were considerably more likely to be stalked by a stranger (75.5 per cent). In contrast, those pursued beyond two weeks were most likely to be stalked by someone they knew (82.5 per cent). It is believed that 'the perpetrators of this form of pursuit often feel an overwhelming sense of entitlement to the victim, or perceive their actions to be legitimate and justified, which reinforces the entrenched and often insidious nature of the harassment' (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b, p.580).

This seminal study clearly shows that stalkers who persist for more than two weeks engage in more frequent intrusions, as well as showing a greater range of stalking behaviours (McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). It is this more indefatigable group — those who pursue beyond two weeks — that is considered accountable for more serious psychological, social and physical damage to their victims (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2007; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). By contrast, findings from a 2003 study showed that the duration of stalking is significantly shorter in cases of serious violence (James & Farnham, 2003). Crucially, in all cases of stalking it is 'in the interest of victims (and stalkers) to intervene and prevent a persistent episode from developing' (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.150).

As part of a study finalised in 2009 of 200 stalkers to explore predictors of persistence, a persistent stalker was defined as (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.150):

> one whose behaviour continues in spite of intervention (there may be fluctuations in intensity, but there are no significant periods when the stalker poses a risk but does not

intrude). Persistent stalkers are defined by the fact that they continue to harass the victim in the face of interventions intended to make them desist; they do not voluntarily cease their harassment, their aims are merely occasionally thwarted by other parties.

Data were collected from stalkers referred to an Australian community forensic mental-health clinic between 2002 and 2007 (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Stalkers were classified by their motivation according the RECON typology ('rejected', 'resentful', 'intimacy-seeking', 'incompetent suitor', or 'predatory') (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999). The duration of stalking was divided into three categories, and considered as greater or less than two weeks, greater or less than 12 weeks, and greater or less than 52 weeks. Two of these cut-off periods were determined based on the findings from previous research, in particular that of Purcell, Pathé and Mullen (2004b), indicating significance for a threshold of two weeks. A threshold of 12 weeks was based on a finding that 70 per cent of stalking episodes end within three months (Purcell, 2001). The third and final cut-off of 52 weeks (one year) was chosen arbitrarily, although 'grounded in the belief that 1 year is a meaningful period of time for both victims facing an extended period of stalking, the individual engaging in the pursuit, and professionals dealing with the stalker' (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.152).

The duration of stalking ranged from less than one week to 832 weeks (16 years) (*M*=58.3 weeks, median = 14 weeks, mode=4 weeks) (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Results showed that the majority of stalkers in this sample (87.5 per cent) persisted beyond two weeks (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Analyses determined that those who stalked for this comparatively brief duration were more likely to be single, aged under 30 years, and unknown to their victim (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Additionally, this group were more

likely to follow their victim and avoid communicating with their victim in writing (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Regarding those stalkers who persisted beyond 12 weeks, 107 (53.5 per cent) did so with a median duration of 52 weeks. Stalkers in this category typically were single, aged over 30 years, had completed secondary education, and had sent unsolicited material to their victim (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). Fifty-three stalkers (26 per cent) persisted for longer than a year and were found to be more likely to be over 30 years old, female, and to have previously threatened the victim (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009). The findings of this study elucidated a number of predictors of persistence in stalking episodes and were largely comparable with those gathered in previous research (Mohandie, Meloy, McGowan & Williams, 2006; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002, Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998).

The key findings about victim-offender relationships include (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009, p.155):

> strangers stalked for the shortest period; however, there was a distinct difference in duration of stalking by acquaintance and ex-intimate stalkers. The majority of ex-intimate stalkers in this sample stalked for between 2 weeks and 1 year, with less than a quarter continuing past that point, while 42 per cent of acquaintance stalkers persisted for over a year.

Overall, it can be assumed that 'the longer stalking has lasted, the longer it is likely to persist' (Mullen, MacKenzie, James, Ogloff, Pathé, McEwan & Purcell, 2006, p.440). Moreover, it has been contended that 'persistence' is most often a feature of workplace or professionally-related stalking. It is also characterised as a 'quest for intimacy, often driven by erotomaniac delusions'

or executed by ‘ex-partners unwilling to abandon the lost relationship’ (Mullen, MacKenzie, James, Ogloff, Pathé, McEwan & Purcell, 2006, p.440).

A similar analysis conducted in 2013 produced analogous results (McEwan & Strand, 2013). Of 211 stalkers recruited from the same specialist forensic mental health service in Australia analyses were conducted to explore ‘associations between relationship-type and psychopathology, and to identify individual and stalking-related characteristics associated with increased duration and serial stalking’ (McEwan & Strand, 2013, p.546). Similar to the survey conducted in 2009 (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009), stalking duration ranged from one week to 16 years with a median of 12 weeks, but some cases being extreme outliers (McEwan & Strand, 2013). Psychosis was associated with increased duration, as was the presence of unsolicited materials (McEwan & Strand, 2013). Intimacy-seekers were found to stalk for the longest duration (median=77 weeks), followed by resentful (median=25 weeks), incompetent suitors (median=8 weeks), and predatory (median=2 weeks) (McEwan & Strand, 2013). RECON motivational types (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell & Stuart, 1999) that indicated prevalence of psychosis (specifically, intimacy-seeker and resentful) tended to stalk for longer (McEwan & Strand, 2013), and, additionally, personality disorder was associated with recurrent stalking (McEwan & Strand, 2013).

Evidently, duration as a discrete element of the offence of stalking deserves significant attention. There is no ‘duration theory’ present in the stalking literature save for the ‘truism’ that the longer a stalking event goes on then the longer it is likely to continue (Acevedo, 2006). It is contended that further research in this area will enhance contemporary understanding of the offence and assist practitioners in the prevention and deterrence of stalking.

Frequency

Researchers have argued that it is essential to further our understanding of both the concepts of 'continuation' and 'desistance' as these are clearly fundamental to the offence category of stalking (Nobles, Fox, Piquero & Piquero, 2009, p.480). A paucity of research in relation to the escalation or waning of frequency and intrusiveness of stalking has been identified, and it is an area considered to be a stalking-specific element worthy of future research (Mackenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James & Ogloff, 2009; Nobles, Fox, Piquero & Piquero, 2009). The risk of escalation in prolonged instances of stalking is significant and, as previously mentioned, behaviours can typically move from being initially annoying to becoming obsessive and dangerous (US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1996). Escalation is deemed to be the 'progression' to 'more intrusive forms of behaviour' but it can also signal a shift in the form of contact between perpetrator and victim such as from 'communications' to 'approach behaviours' (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.73). As duration and frequency of behaviours can be considered measurements with which to define stalking, it is worth drawing attention to the latter in relation to existing data in various research samples.

Indeed, it has been noted that (Stocker & Nielssen, 2000, p.2):

> As stalking is thought to occur on a continuum with normal attempts to make contact, definitions of stalking usually rely on measures of duration and frequency of attempts to make contact, rather than the effect on the victim. Two unwelcome attempts at communication might be unpleasant for the victim, but the number of contacts would

have to be higher, even in face of clear opposition to further communication from the victim, for the behaviour to be considered stalking. The difficulty with quantitative definition is that sporadic unwelcome communication may not reach an agreed level of contact to be considered as stalking.

Research demonstrates that the most frequently reported stalking behaviours are annoying and bothersome, but not typically threatening (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998; Dutton & Winstead, 2006; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, et al., 2000). However, data from the US 2006 National Crime Victimisation Survey found that among a subsample of stalking victims the frequency of contact between stalker and victim was found to be a significant predictor of fear among those pursued (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2013). Those victims who were stalked once or twice a month were less likely to express fear compared with those stalked less frequently (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2013). This was considered to be a significant finding, although the researchers accepted that perhaps it is the experience, and to a lesser degree the frequency, that most affects levels of fear; it was acknowledged that the study did not control for individuals who may have been stalked in a more serious way, but less frequently (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2013).

Early research that used data gathered in 1996/1997 by way of a national telephone survey indicated that of those stalked among a large sample of US college women (N=4,446), one-third reported experiencing pursuit behaviours less than once per week, compared with two-thirds who experienced stalking weekly, daily or more than once daily (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000). Despite difficulties in computing an average due to outliers (seven victims reported one day, and one victim reported ten years), the mean duration for stalking was 146.6 days (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002). To assess intensity of stalking, the authors examined the frequency of

intrusive behaviours. When asked ‘during this period, how often did these events occur?’, four in 10 victims reported a frequency of two to six times a week, whereas almost another fourth of victims stated that stalking behaviours occurred either daily (13.3 per cent) or more than once daily (9.7 per cent) (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002). Of the victims who reported pursuit behaviours occurring once a week or less, approximately four per cent reported that the behaviour happened less than twice a month (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002). The study reveals that, more often than not, stalking victims experience a high frequency of intrusive behaviours at the hands of their stalker.

A 2002 study of self-report victims of stalking drawn from a Dutch anti-stalking foundation (known as SAS) found that, in parallel with previous research (Brewster, 1999; Hall, 1998), stalking is characterised by inconsistent frequency, varying from day to day, month to month, and year to year (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). This dysrhythmia was experienced by several victims, who stated that their ordeal could cease for several months, only to have the stalker suddenly reappear (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). Stalking occurred more often on a daily basis toward the beginning of the episode (in 68 per cent of reported cases), compared to the end of the stalking period (34 per cent). In almost half of the cases (47 per cent) it was reported that the frequency decreased; however, in approximately half (48 per cent) of stalking episodes, the frequency had remained stable or had intensified for some (four per cent) (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). The results indicated that stalking was often concentrated and long-term (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002). Consistent with previous research (Pathé & Mullen, 1997), analyses showed, of the sample, those victims who were followed or experienced

theft/destruction of their property reported higher levels of psychiatric symptoms. Elevated levels of symptoms were also reported in instances where the stalking experience: consisted of six or more pursuit behaviours; occurred on a daily basis; or did not decrease in frequency (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002).

With reference to the intermittent frequency of harassment, it has been suggested that persistence and recurrence are discrete forms of behaviour, particularly through the lens of the management of stalkers and assessment of risk (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009. Specifically, it is observed that (MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009, p.41):

> Differentiating persistence from recurrence assists in identifying management strategies. Persistence indicates that current management strategies are not effective and motivating factors remain. Recurrent stalking is frequently associated with the reappearance of factors which precipitated the initial episode, meaning that previously successful management strategies may again be successful. … A risk judgement regarding the likelihood of recurrence usually only becomes relevant when it is clear that the previous stalking episode has ended.

Research relating to recurrence of stalking is in its infancy, with existing studies suggesting that approximately a third to half of stalkers re-offend, most within 12 months, against the same or a different victim (McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009; Rosenfeld, 2003). From the few studies conducted, results have shown that personality disorder has been linked to persistence or recidivism (McEwan Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009; Rosenfeld, 2003).

A noteworthy web-based survey of college students at a south-eastern university in the United States (*N*=1, 921, 61 per cent female, 1,171, 39 per cent male, 750) found that almost 27 per cent of respondents had been stalking victims and 5.8 per cent had perpetrated stalking during their lifetime (Nobles, Fox, Piquero & Piquero, 2009). For victims, the frequency of stalking behaviours ranged between two and more than 20 events (*M*=6.92), with females reporting only slightly more frequent victimisation compared to males. Conversely, stalking perpetrators reported engaging in fewer pursuit behaviours (*M*=4.55), with females committing fewer than men (Nobles, Fox, Piquero & Piquero, 2009). Results indicated that very few victims or perpetrators experienced or engaged in an episode of stalking more than once, but, interestingly, the frequency of stalking behaviours increased for those who were stalked or were stalked a second time (*M*=8.48) (Nobles, Fox, Piquero & Piquero, 2009).

A survey conducted in 2005 of stalking victims in a middle-sized German city (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005) found that of the 78 mostly females stalked, the frequency of pursuit behaviours such as unwanted telephone calls (78 per cent) and loitering nearby (63 per cent) ranged from 'a few times' (32 per cent), 'several times a month' (eight per cent), 'several times a week' (35 per cent), 'daily' (nine per cent), to 'several times a day' (16 per cent) (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005). Frequency of intrusions, including threats, assaults and damage to property, has been shown to be significantly higher among victims pursued for more than two weeks (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b). Research exploring the prevalence and nature of stalking found that among an Australian community (*n*=1844), stalking victims (*n*=432) were subjected to an average of 2.8 methods of intimidation (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001). Victims were asked to indicate the frequency with which it occurred (once, twice, three-to-nine

times, 10 or more times), and the most common methods were unwanted telephone calls (56 per cent), intrusive approaches (56 per cent) and following (49 per cent), loitering nearby (35 per cent), maintaining surveillance (31 per cent), and unwanted letters, faxes or email (19 per cent) (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001). Instances of receiving offensive materials (five per cent) and unsolicited goods (five per cent) occurred less often (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001).

Results from an archival study of 82 female stalkers (Meloy & Boyd, 2003) showed that pursuers were reportedly most likely to contact their victim daily (52 per cent). Fewer stalkers contacted their victims on a weekly basis (34 per cent), and, lastly, very few would contact on a monthly basis (14 per cent) (Meloy & Boyd, 2003). Escalation of stalking was measured as part of the study, defined by an increase in frequency of contact during the course of stalking, and an increase in intrusiveness (for example, the number of letters sent increased over a period of time, or letter-writing as a method of pursuit would be replaced by assaults). Results indicated that frequency of contact elevated during the course of stalking (66 per cent), as well as the nature of intrusiveness (73 per cent) (Meloy & Boyd, 2003).

A consistent finding across several studies is that increased victim exposure to a greater number, type and frequency of stalking behaviours (e.g., letters, emails, telephone calls, loitering and threats) is associated with increased efforts to seek help and cope with stalking (Bjerregaard, 2000; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2002; Hauggard & Seri, 2003; Mechanic, 2002; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998). Unfortunately, 'for victims, law-enforcement personnel and mental health professionals dealing with stalkers, the overall frequency or variety of stalking behaviours is perhaps of less concern than the occurrence of particular behaviours which, in the absence of specific intervention and management, are associated with adverse

outcomes' (McEwan, MacKenzie, Mullen & James, 2012, p.393). It has been suggested that victims may rely on informal and personal strategies of coping in the early stages of their stalking experience before an escalation in frequency and severity occur (Mechanic, 2002). Assuming these informal strategies have, initially, a positive affect (i.e., they reduce the frequency of contact, or in some way limit escalation), it is argued that such strategies attenuate in the face of protracted courses of harassment, and additionally in instances where the forms and behaviour of stalking escalate (i.e., from telephoning to damaging property) (Mechanic, 2002).

It is contended that the argument for early, measured intervention remains cogent even in the face of pursuits formed as a result of psychopathological conditions such as erotomania. Erotomania, as first described by Esquirol in 1838 and found in the *Diagnostics and Statistics Manual* (DSM-III-R; American Psychiatric Association [APA], 1987), is considered to be the reason for several high-profile stalking cases (Meloy, 1989) and is characterised by a delusional belief that the target of one's affections, usually a person of higher status, returns these affections (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997). There is also 'non-delusional erotomania', which has been termed 'borderline erotomania' (Meloy, 1989; 1998). Borderline erotomania is characterised by an 'intense and tumultuous attachment to an unrequited love, in the absence of an erotomanic delusion of being loved in return… These patients are usually organized at a borderline personality level, with an obsessional attachment to an unattained (or former) love object' (Meloy, 1998, p.197). It has been regarded by others as 'morbid infatuation', and as far as the RECON typology of stalkers is concerned (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell

& Stuart, 1999), these instances of stalking could be drawn under ‘intimacy-seeker’ (Mullen, MacKenzie, James, Ogloff, Pathé, McEwan & Purcell, 2006).

In a sample of 95 self-defined victims of stalking in the United Kingdom, one-quarter felt that their stalker believed him-or herself to be in love with the victim, describing an erotomanic individual (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001). Indeed, one victim elaborated by saying that her stalker believed that he was protecting her (the victim) (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001). In an early study conducted using a clinical sample of 14 stalkers referred to a private psychiatric treatment facility, it was found that 36 per cent of the sample was erotomanic (Mullen & Pathé, 1994a). Other, nascent research using clinical samples generally found a prevalence rate of 10 per cent for erotomanic stalkers although the numbers were low overall (Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993). The same research also found that erotomanics are typically female (Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993) which is inconsistent with later empirical findings (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). A particular study of erotomanic stalking determined an average duration of ten years (Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993). Such protracted instances of stalking are capable of debilitating victims through all-consuming fear (Orion, 1997). Early intervention in cases such as these would encourage clinical, professional help for victims at the onset of the stalking that may thwart instances of perennial pursuit.

Summary

The many harmful consequences of stalking canvassed above show clearly that stalking is a unique offence, with rates of prevalence indicating that it is a ‘public health issue’ (Sheridan

& Lyndon, 2012, p.348). Protracted instances of stalking expose victims to damaging long-term effects such as anxiety (Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001), which is of concern in the light of national studies showing an average duration of stalking of more than two years (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). There is also the problem of dysrhythmia, that is, an unpredictable frequency and pattern of behaviour or contact on the part of the stalker (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002), which can serve to exacerbate a victim's ordeal and increase their anxiety.

It is clear that, too often, stalking victims are left with options for managing their symptoms, decreasing their stress, or making other restricting lifestyle decisions in the hope of insulating themselves from further intrusion or violence (Mechanic, 2002), which may serve to reinforce unwanted pursuit, increasing the duration of victimisation (de Becker, 1997). Several authorities contend that future research be focused on unravelling the time and causality effects of victim responses in order to determine whether stalking is malleable, that is can it be encouraged and/or diminished (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000). Such research would inform women and support networks as to which strategies would best protect them from continued stalking. Frontline workers who assist stalking victims, including those who provide counselling, are better served through this type of research (Goodman, Dutton, Vankos & Wienfurt, 2005). Further, having empirically-informed strategic responses could serve to transform intervention efforts from mollifying attempts to reduce symptomatic anxiety among victims to improving the management and control of stalking perpetrators (Mechanic, 2002). The following chapter, Chapter Four, presents the established theories that provide the framework for the research project conducted as part of this doctoral thesis. The current study

adopts a ‘routine activities theory’ (Cohen & Felson, 1979) approach to stalking and relies on several other theories of crime. As such, the next chapter comprises an exploration of these theoretical models and provides a critical overview of their application to the present work.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This chapter presents the theories relied on to substantially inform and reinforce this thesis. It begins with a brief outline of the history of victim theories. It then introduces the work of central theories applied to this doctoral project and, importantly, how some of the theories, over the years, have been applied to stalking research. The importance of theoretical application to this research is highlighted throughout the chapter. Finally, a summary is provided that identifies the main function of the theoretical framework.

As indicated in Chapter One, this thesis is concerned with the study of victims — specifically, those who have experienced being stalked. It adopts a positivist victimological approach, which involves 'the identification of factors which contribute to a non-random pattern of victimization, a focus on interpersonal crimes of violence, and a concern to identify victims who may have contributed to their own victimization' (Miers, 1989, p.3). This present work is also concerned with crime prevention. Several theories have been developed exploring stalkers and attachment, negative emotions, and propensity toward violent behaviour (Bowlby, 1969; Cupach, Spitzberg & Carson, 2000; Dye & Davis, 2003; Meloy, 1992). There remains, however, a paucity of empirical research supporting the few existing theories that examine the relationship between the behaviour of victims and the effect on crime.

Noting that for much of its history criminology tended to ignore victims from a theoretical perspective, victimisation is now a common feature of criminological inquiry (Meier & Miethe,

1993). Despite inherent difficulties in tracing the origins of victim theories, it is acknowledged that the first scholars to consider themselves victimologists, such as Mendelsohn in 1940, Von Hentig in 1948 and Wolfgang in 1958, tended to focus on vulnerable status features such as age, infirmity or mental health (Karmen, 2013). In 1956, Mendelsohn, a defence attorney in Romania, developed a victim typology based on a spectrum of culpability (Meier & Miethe, 1993). Von Hentig worked on classifying crime victims based on their personal characteristics and likelihood of being targeted. Another, Garofalo in 1914, was one of the first to explore the notion that victims may provoke their attacker (Meier & Miethe, 1993). These scholars did not propose theories, and 'some of the concepts they used were primitive' (Meier & Miethe, 1993, p.461). Indeed, 'it is speculative at best to attempt to sketch a victim theory ancestry since there seem to be few connections among these early works' (Meier & Miethe, 1993, p.461). However, two key 'research traditions' purport to be the antecedents to several current theories of victimology, namely, victim precipitation and the development of victimisation surveys (Meier & Miethe, 1993).

A number of theories are examined and relied on as part of this research, including victimisation theories such as life-style exposure (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garafalo, 1978) and routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979). In the early examination of these two significant victimological theories, it was emphasised that 'while some versions of victimization theories suggest that victims and offenders are tied together in a broader social ecology of crime, these theories do not provide testable propositions about the conditions of offending and victimization to permit adequate predictions of crime' (Meier & Miethe, 1993,

p.460). These two major theories, however, are considered to be advanced and are the object of substantial empirical testing (Meier & Miethe, 1993).

Routine Activity Theory and Life-style Exposure

A central theory applied to this work is Routine Activity Theory ('RAT') (Cohen & Felson, 1979; see Figure 3) which advances the observation that 'most criminal acts require convergence in space and time of likely offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians against crime' (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p.488). This is known as the 'crime triangle' or 'Felson's crime triangle' (Felson & Boba, 2010). The theory also refers to a 'motivated' offender (Cohen & Felson, 1979). 'Suitable targets' include people and inanimate objects (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014).

RAT is sometimes used interchangeably with lifestyle exposure approach (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garafalo, 1978) or referred to as the Lifestyle Routine Activity Theory (Burgess, Regehr & Roberts, 2013; Miethe, Stafford & Long, 1987). RAT is considered to be an interactional concept, that is, its focus is on the 'intersection between the victim and the offender and their environment' (Burgess, Regehr & Roberts, 2013, p.83). The main difference between RAT and Lifestyle Exposure Approach (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garafalo, 1978), notwithstanding terminology, is that the former (RAT) was developed to explain changes in crime rates over time, whereas Lifestyle Exposure Theory emerged to account for differences in victimisation risks across social groups (Meier & Miethe, 1993). The key premise underlying the Lifestyle Exposure Theory is that demographic differences in the likelihood of victimization are attributed to differences in the personal lifestyles of victims (Meier & Miethe,

1993). Both theories are now established, having been applied across units of analysis and in cross-sectional and longitudinal designs (Meier & Miethe, 1993).

Figure 3: Graphical representation of Cohen and Felson's (1979) Routine Activity Theory or 'Felson's Crime Triangle' (Sutton, et al., 2014, p.18).

A noted benefit of RAT is that the model is useful for highlighting the limitations of policies that focus solely on punitive responses to crime (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). It has been suggested that policy-makers and practitioners who understand the 'crime triangle' or Routine Activity model should be flexible in their approach to policy and consider the significance of RAT with regard to social factors (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). As an example, developmental projects designed to improve relationships that young people have with their families or educational institutions can be effective at diminishing the motivations to offend (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). Arguably, the very same flexible approach to policy and recognition of social factors ought to be applied to educational programmes targeted at

improving awareness of appropriate courtship behaviours and the problem with persistent and unwanted intrusions.

In their application of RAT to predict the likelihood of stalking, criminologists Mustaine and Tewksbury (1999) conducted a survey in 1996 of 861 female university students from nine different post-secondary educational institutions. The students were enrolled in introductory-level sociology and criminal justice courses and volunteered to participate. All participants were asked to conduct a self-administered survey, comprising a 95-item instrument assessing individual demographics, social activities (including alcohol and other drug consumption), residential community characteristics and structures, transportation modes, employment, self-protective measures, illegal activities, fear of crime, and self-report victimisation. The average age of participants was 20; marital status was single. The dependent variable was whether the students had been a victim of stalking in the prior six-month period. Of the 861 students, 10.5 per cent had been stalked during that period. From their results, Mustaine and Tewksbury 'found the following factors were associated with increased probability of being a stalking victim: frequency of going to the mall; living off campus; being employed; having bought illegal drugs in the past six months; and carrying mace or pocketknives for self-protection' (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2003, p. 366). Mustaine and Tewksbury acknowledged that some factors may be effect rather than cause (e.g., victims may be more inclined to carry mace for self-protection). Their results are suggestive that lifestyle routine of female university students may increase the risk of being stalked. Further applying RAT, the reduced risk of being a victim of stalking for students residing on campus was attributable to living in an insulated, community

environment; thus, it was postulated that stalkers are less likely to victimise students who have greater numbers of potential guardians (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999, pp.54–55).

Similarly, a US report published in 1999 that was based on data gathered in 1996 of college women (*n*=4,446), found, using a multivariate logit model, that the risk of being stalked was increased by a number of factors including: 'the propensity to be in places with alcohol; living alone; being in a dating relationship, especially early in the relationship, as opposed to being married or living with an intimate partner; being an undergraduate; being from an affluent family; and having experienced sexual victimization before the beginning of the current academic year' (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000, p.28). The findings from these two seminal studies (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999) demonstrate that female college students who engage in alcohol and drug use are at greater risk of being stalked than women who abstain from such activities (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002; Kinkade, Burns, Ilarraza Fuentes, 2005). It is accepted that certain behaviours that victims engage in may have exacerbate their risk of harm and further victimisation (Gobert, 1977). In line with Cohen and Felson's RAT, persistence, on the part of the victim, to deter the stalker could serve to mitigate stalking activity. In their persistence against stalking, victims may be capable of presenting as a 'less suitable' target of the pursuit. This research applies RAT and examines victim behaviours to determine whether an apposite response to stalking exists, and also whether the timing of a response can affect the intensity and duration of stalking.

Other work has demonstrated that, generally, people with risky lifestyles, that is, engaging in criminal activity or delinquent peer association, are more vulnerable to victimisation (Schreck & Fisher, 2004). Cohen and Felson (1979) suggested a routine activity approach to

analyse and explain crime rates, trends and cycles, in particular, the surge in crime in post-World War II America. It was hypothesised that the 'dispersion of activities away from households and families increases the opportunity of crime and thus generates higher crime rates' (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p.488). The theory proposed that the prolonged absences from households were due to either being at work or pursuing recreational activities. As part of their research, a variety of data was presented to explain that between 1947 and 1974 in the United States, crime rates were 'a by-product of changes in such variables as labour force participation and single-adult households' (Cohen & Felson, p.488). These changes in such variables had led to increased opportunity for offenders looking to profit by targeting homes.

Cohen and Felson (1979)) posit three essential elements in the 'crime triangle' of (1) a motivated offender, (2) a suitable victim, and (3) an absence of capable guardianship. They argue that (Cohen and Felson, 1979, p.589):

> the lack of any one of these elements is sufficient to prevent the successful completion of a direct-contact predatory crime, and that the convergence in time and space of suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians may even lead to large increases in crime rates without necessarily requiring any increase in the structural conditions that motivate individuals to engage in crime.

It is further explained that (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p.589):

> if the proportion of motivated offenders or even suitable targets were to remain stable in a community, changes in routine activities could nonetheless alter the likelihood of

> their convergence in space and time, thereby creating more opportunities for crimes to occur. Control therefore becomes critical. If controls through routine activities were to decrease, illegal predatory activities could then be likely to increase.

One criticism levelled against RAT is that lifestyle is not, in fact, purely a personal choice (Burgess, Regehr & Roberts, 2013). Individuals are constrained, in many ways, by their environment, role expectations and 'structural characteristics' such as age and race (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garafalo, 1978). These characteristics can affect a person's vocation and leisure activities, potentially exposing them to high-risk victimisation situations (Walklate, 1989). A clear example is a 'single mother on welfare who may have no option but to live in a high crime neighbourhood … Both she and her children are thus exposed to opportunities for victimisation that a child born to a professional couple in the suburbs is not' (Burgess et al., 2013, p.83). Similarly, social factors affect the likelihood of victimisation; for example, a global financial crisis may increase the risk that in-demand goods will be stolen (Burgess, Regehr & Roberts, 2013). A greater awareness of hazards and the implementation of safety precautions by victims (e.g., travelling in company after dark or securely locking away portable property) may serve to decrease victimisation. It is hypothesised though, that a reduction in victim availability or suitability may engender crime displacement, that is, cause criminals to relocate to areas where there is greater opportunity for the successful commission of a crime (Meier & Miethe, 1993).

The concept of guardianship as part of RAT has been extended beyond supervision of a victim to also include monitoring of a motivated offender (Felson, 1986, 1995; Reyns, 2010). For example, the practice of installing closed-circuit television or electronic surveillance devices in target-rich environments for offenders (e.g., expansive shopping districts or

nightclubs) can be considered as ‘capable guardianship’ in line with RAT. Additionally, place managers fulfil the functions of monitors or guardians in areas where crime might occur, for example, security guards or event staff (Eck, 2003). In the context of stalking, capable guardians may include friends and family members, work managers and colleagues, as well as electronic surveillance tools.

This thesis also explores victim resistance, which is a defensive behaviour (Schafer, 1968). The concept of victim resistance is focused on victim interaction with the commission of a crime, and it considers the opportunity, on the part of a victim, to avert the act (Schafer, 1968). The central tenet of this theory — that a victim may exert control through resistance — is affected by social power (Shafer, 1968), in particular, whether by virtue of the victim’s physical size, age or close support network, she or he is able to resist and, also, whether it is a good idea to do so. For example, victims of rape may place themselves in greater danger should they forcibly resist (Ullman & Knight, 1992). Literature in this area suggests that, generally, victim resistance decreases the likelihood that a crime will be completed; in particular, forceful physical, forceful verbal, and non-forceful physical self-protective behaviours have been found to be effective in avoiding rape completion, as opposed to non-forceful verbal self-protective behaviours, which have not (Guerette & Santana, 2010; Ullman, 2007). Critical studies have been conducted to explore the relationship between forceful responses to stalking on the part of a victim and any effect on further victimisation. These and other victimological studies are explored in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Situational Crime Prevention

The present research also draws on the framework of Situational Crime Prevention ('SCP') (Clarke, 1980; 1985; 1997), which is based on an applied research methodology that assists with developing crime prevention solutions. SCP provides a basis for organising crime-reduction strategies, and relies on the theoretical frameworks offered by Routine Activity and the Rational Choice Perspective (Clarke, 1997; Guerette & Santana, 2010). This is because SCP is concerned more with the psychology of individual decision-making (usually of an offender) (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). SCP tries to understand how opportunities for crime are perceived and attempts to remove those opportunities, or at least make them less recognisable (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). In developing crime prevention solutions, SCP comprises 25 situational techniques grouped within five conceptual categories. These five conceptual categories describe the purpose of adaptive interventions (Clarke, 1997; Cornish & Clarke, 2003) and include: '(a) techniques to increase the amount of effort needed to engage in crime; (b) techniques to increase the risk for offenders; (c) tactics to reduce the rewards for engaging in crime; (d) methods to reduce provocations; and (e) techniques to remove the excuses for engaging in crime' (Guerette & Santana, 2010, p. 205). The underlying assumption of situational prevention is that most people, given the right environment or setting, will offend and it is in society's interest to minimise the opportunity to do so (Clarke, 1997; Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014).

The purpose of SCP is to 'reduce opportunities for crime by analysis and manipulation of the mechanisms that give rise to the specific crime' (Reyns, 2010, p.106). It is suggested that (Reyns, 2010, p.106):

> Opportunities are reduced by altering the physical environment in some way that makes the crime less palatable to the potential offender … Based upon many of the common assumptions underlying these theories, SCP seeks to develop crime — and situation — specific methods and techniques for limiting and eliminating criminal opportunities. One such assumption is that crimes occur because criminal opportunities exist.

SCP is useful in developing intervention strategies, as it is capable of being crime-specific and, possessing five simple concepts, it considers a range of preventions to deter offenders. It is observed as having demonstrated its application in reducing a broad array of different types of offences (Clarke, 1992, 1997) and is considered 'one of the foremost methods for crime prevention across the globe' (Reyns, 2010, p.106). As an applied research methodology, the efficacy of SCP is often dependent upon a close examination of the specific crime type, as different offences require different methods for offenders to engage in (Guerette & Santana, 2010). What may work well for one offence type, or in a specific location, may not be as effective in others. This, among other considerations, is highlighted as somewhat of a criticism of SCP (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). An example is improved street lighting that may help reduce assaults in a particular location. At the same time as enhancing the surveillance at the particular location, it may prove ineffective, and indeed counter-productive, at a different location. Placed in another vicinity, improved lighting may have the potential for making it easier for offenders to identify possible targets (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). Moreover, there is a considerable amount of systematic analysis and development required to overcome specific problems in any given context (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014).

Other criticisms of SCP include a reluctance, on the part of SCP advocates, to contemplate and/or acknowledge the broader economic and political forces that affect results and exacerbate social division and social exclusion — potential ingredients of crime (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014). Also, SCP often tends to be location-specific and not concerned with groups of people that may be affected (Sutton, Cherney & White, 2014).

In a recent practical application of SCP to cyberstalking (Reyns, 2010), it was proposed that 'place managers', such as website administrators or web designers, are capable of engaging in crime prevention methods to reduce victimisation. Specific suggestions of SCP techniques for place managers to deploy included: making email addresses unavailable or increasing the effort required to obtain them; embedding personal identifiers into sent emails; monitoring sites and public boards for misuse; providing a clear code of conduct and reminders for users; and increasing the effort required to obtain an account. Additionally, it was recommended that individuals/victims could prevent harm by (Reyns, 2010): using spam filters; not replying to cyberstalkers; limiting access to sites; limiting exposure, such as not posting personal information or photos; changing their online identity if necessary; not accepting messages from unknown parties; and avoiding problem sites.

It has been previously identified that 'routine activity/environmental criminology perspectives would also encourage innovative situational crime prevention strategies to reduce the opportunities for stalking' (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002, p.297). To be sure, the techniques and conceptual categories unique to SCP could have significant application to the offence of stalking — both terrestrial and cyber — in particular, to guide victims of stalking in minimising the unwanted contact of another. As an example, it may be that a deft application

of SCP to stalking would be the education and promotion of awareness in secondary education institutions of the boundaries between appropriate communication and behaviour that is unwanted or criminal, which would serve to remove excuses for engaging in stalking behaviour.

Rational Choice Perspective

There is also the Rational Choice Perspective ('RCP') (Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Cornish & Clarke, 1986), which offers a broader model that explores situational prevention in relation to decisions made by offenders — decisions that serve a specific purpose. The theory posits that different crimes present different costs and benefits for the offender (Clarke, 1997; Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Cornish & Clarke, 1986), and the commission of an offence is therefore not merely a random event, but rather an informed choice relative to the product of the interaction between the offender and his or her situational environment (Clarke, 1997; Guerette & Santana, 2010). Rational Choice Perspective (Clarke & Cornish, 1986; Cornish & Clarke, 1986) supports the argument that where a victim of stalking fails to inform a stalker that the attention is unwanted, or that the stalker's amorous affections are not returned, the decision by the offender to continue stalking is one that is made in the absence of any awareness that their intentions and behaviour are unwanted and threatening. Similarly, if stalking behaviour is reinforced by a maladaptive response, the offender may choose to continue their course of conduct in the knowledge that their behaviour is successfully achieving a desired effect on their target of harassment (Pathé, 2002).

Rational Choice Perspective is not limited to offenders. Other work applying fundamental principles of rational choice perspective has explored the decision-making process in the

criminal justice system (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988). Taking into account all 'criminal justice actors', which includes victims and, specifically, their discretion to report crime, both offender and victim decisions are influenced primarily by three factors: the seriousness of the offence; the relationship between victim and offender; and the prior criminal record of the offender (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988). These factors are described as 'persistent' or, indeed, pervasive, irrespective of the outcome of a victim's decision to report (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988).

The seriousness of an offence is positively related to reporting; in general, a more serious crime increases the likelihood that the incident will be processed by the criminal justice system (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010). Conversely, 'if an incident is not reported to the police, it may be because the victim does not view it as serious enough to warrant contacting the authorities' (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010, p.999). Additionally, it has been suggested that 'the closer the relationship between the victim and the offender, the less likely the victim will be to contact the police' (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010, p.999). Further, and specifically regarding stalking, it has been noted that (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010, p.999):

> it is plausible that a victim of stalking considers the prior record of their offender when making decisions about reporting to police. For example, if a victim knows an offender has a prior record, they may view the offender as more threatening and may be more likely to report their victimization to the police.

A Victimological Perspective

Within the criminal justice system, victims have been described as ‘gatekeepers’ or ‘filters’, as the effective cessation of a majority of crime is dependent on victims reporting their experience to law-enforcement agencies (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988, p.16; Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010). Further, victims have been considered ‘the most influential of all criminal justice decision makers’ (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988, p.15). Victims are defined as ‘individuals who suffer injuries, losses, or hardships for any reason’ (Karmen, 2013, p.2). People can become victims in a number of ways, for example, through accidents, natural disasters, disease or social problems such as warfare and discrimination (Karmen, 2013). Here, however, the focus is on ‘crime victims’, that is, those who are harmed or affected by an illegal act (Karmen, 2013, p.2). Victimology is considered to be a sub-discipline of criminology and is the scientific study of victims (Drapkin & Viano, 1974). It is also concerned with ‘the study of the degree and type of participation of the victim in the genesis or development of the offence’ (Schultz, 1968, p.135). Victimology examines the relationship between victims and offenders, and between victims and the criminal justice system (Karmen, 1990). There is also a trend for victimology to explore the connections between victims and other organised bodies and institutions, such as the media, business, and political or social movements (Karmen, 1990).

A self-critical observation made in the formative days of the sub-discipline, and an excerpt from the prospectus for the World Society of Victimology drafted in the 1970s, explains (Rock, 2007, p.54):

> From its beginning, victimology has been an international and an interdisciplinary subject. The need for information about the victim's contribution to the commission of a crime, the offender–victim relationship, the victim's vulnerability and recidivism, the victim's role in the criminal justice system, the potential victim's fear of crime and attitudes towards legislation and law-enforcement stimulated victimological research throughout the world.

Victimology has more recently been defined as 'the scientific study of the physical, emotional, and financial harm people suffer because of illegal activities' (Karmen, 2013, p.2). In so far as the relationship between victimology and criminology is concerned, it has been argued that the study of crime victims and of victimisation has the potential of re-shaping criminology (Fattah, 2000), and that 'it may be the paradigm shift that criminology needs' (Burgess, Regehr & Roberts, 2013, p.5). Many view victimology as an integral component of criminology, as opposed to a discrete field of study (Burgess, Regehr & Roberts, 2013; Fattah, 2000).

There is a further specialisation known as a forensic victimological approach, which is concerned with examining victim participation in crime causation, exploring the interaction between victim and offender and determining the victim's subsequent role, if any, in the criminal justice system (Petherick, Turvey & Ferguson, 2010). In addition to its epistemological ends, a key practical purpose of this field of study is to develop remedies that abate offending and protect victims. It is described as 'a subdivision of interactionist victimology, in which victims are defined by having suffered harm or loss due to a breach of law … It involves the accurate, critical, and objective outlining of victim lifestyles and

circumstances, the events leading up to their injury, and the precise nature of any harm or loss suffered' (Turvey & Petherick, 2009, p. 21). It is concerned with how a person came to become victimised, how the crime took place, and the victim's relationship with the offender (Turvey & Petherick, 2009). A defining part of the philosophy of forensic victimology is the idea that 'the less we know about the victim, the less we know about the crime and the criminal' (Turvey & Petherick, 2009, p.22). Moreover, a forensic victimological approach is concerned with the application of the scientific method, which is 'a way to investigate how or why something works, or how something happened, through the development of hypotheses and subsequent attempts at falsification through testing and other accepted means' (Turvey, 2008, p.47). The scientific method is a process that requires analysis and critical thinking of observations (Turvey, 2008).

Somewhat controversially, this thesis examines the role of the victim in offences of stalking, and elicits basal principles found within the theoretical stream known as 'victim precipitation' (Gobert, 1977; Von Hentig, 1948; Wolfgang, 1950). Victim precipitation is referred to as 'some overt, identifiable conduct or omission on the part of the victim which provokes an individual to commit a crime' (Gobert, 1977, p.514). It is identified as being first propounded by Mendelsohn in 1963 and is describes (Rock, 2007, p.42):

> the criminally provocative, collusive or causal impact of the victim in a dyadic relation variously called the 'penal couple' (Mendelsohn, 1963: 241); the 'reciprocal action between the perpetrator and victim' (Von Hentig 1940: 303); the 'duet theory of crime' (Von Hentig 1948: 397); a 'situated transaction' (Luckenbill, 1977); 'the functional

responsibility for crime' (Schafer, 1968: 55), or, simply, 'the victim-offender relationship' (Wolfgang 1957: 1).

As part of the concept of victim precipitation, it is accepted that 'aspects of victims and victimisation become visible through the assumptions, ambitions, methods and questions that scholars apply to observe them' (Rock, 2007, p.43). Further, it is recognised that 'at one pole, victim precipitation portrays crime somewhat neutrally as an interactive process or evolving relation between victim and offender, in which each influences not only the conduct of the other but also the form and content of any crime that may ensure' (Rock, 2007, p.42).

Early research on homicide (Wolfgang, 1958) and rape (Amir, 1971) encountered political difficulty because it appeared to attribute responsibility to the victim for the crime. It has been suggested that focus on the individual traits 'as the cause of crime, leads to a preoccupation with the victim–offender relationship and to blaming a victim' (Timmer & Norman, 1984, p.64). This concern has been raised on a number of occasions, with many agreeing that 'victim precipitation deals with the degree to which the victim is responsible for his or her own victimisation' (Doerner & Lab, 2012, p.7). It was identified early on, and indeed similar opinion remains, that victim precipitation 'was an idea that smacked of "blaming the victim", a cornerstone of liberal crime control ideology and something to be avoided at all scholarly cost, even truth' (Meier & Miethe, 1993, pp.459–460). More recently, it has been noted that 'during the past couple of decades the problems associated with the practice of "victim blaming" also began to receive much attention … Victim blaming has been one of the biggest impediments to meaningful reforms in the criminal justice system' (Sgarzi & McDevitt, 2003, p.2). Early criticism also recognised that (Timmer & Norman, 1984, p.63):

> criminological and justice system uses of 'victim precipitation' assume consistently that crime is individually generated and, therefore, can only be individually prevented. At least two repressive ideological effects flow from these assumptions of 'victim precipitation': (1) an extreme form of victim-blame where the victims of crime are said to be a primary cause of their own victimisation, and (2) underlying support for ineffective official crime prevention strategies and programs (in reality, 'victim prevention' strategies and programs) that instruct citizens to take responsibility for their own criminal victimisation ('dress less seductively', 'leave your lights on', 'lock or bar your window', etc.).

It has been contended that blaming victims diverts attention and resources away from the root causes of crime and, further, that 'the "community crime prevention" strategies that are founded on it, ignore the structural origins of both crime and victimisation and will not lead us to less of either' (Timmer & Norman, 1984, p.67). Crime, however, does not occur in a vacuum; several antecedent forces attributable to the victim, whether positive acts or omissions, inadvertent or intended, may contribute to the commission of an offence (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Gobert, 1977). Moreover, it has been highlighted that (Von Hentig, 1948, p.419):

> The law assumes that the perpetrator is always the directing agent at the back of any move. It takes for granted that the 'doer' is always, and during the whole process which ends in the criminal outcome, active, the 'sufferer' always inactive. It is characteristic of our legalistic thinking that the notion of provocation has been allowed to enter into our criminal codes, only in a very limited way.

The above has been affirmed as ‘accurate in part’ (Gobert, 1977, p.518). Additionally, it has been recognised that ‘rarely has the law formally and systematically considered the victims’ role in causing the crime. Von Hentig, however, may have seriously underestimated the degree to which victim-precipitation considerations have seeped into legal thinking’ (Gobert, 1977, p.518).

It is important to stress a notional caveat: the legitimate exploration of victim precipitation must avoid the improper persecution of a victim of crime. It is averred, however, that despite it being ‘socially undesirable to subject the open window intruder to no sanction, it also seems inappropriate to fail to consider the particular circumstances that may have engendered [a] crime’ (Gobert, 1977, p.521). Victim precipitation does not seek to blame victims for the occurrence of crime; instead, the theory submits that the dynamics of a criminal act cannot be understood solely by reference to the offender, and the role of the victim must also be considered (Diaz, Petherick & Turvey, 2009). The research conducted by Mustaine and Tewksbury (1999), for example, showing a greater risk of stalking for females who regularly become intoxicated, demonstrates that victim attributes or behaviours can increase the likelihood of crime occurring (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999). In the same way, it is argued that victim responses to stalking are capable of being examined and, for several, categorised as increasing the likelihood of being stalked for a longer period of time (Goldsworthy & Raj, 2014). As part of a ‘practical and comprehensive survival manual for victims of stalking and related crime’ (Pathé, 2002, preface), a significant chapter dedicated to reducing the chances of victimisation begins by advising that ‘the best means of escaping harm at the hands of the stalker is to avoid succumbing to his advances in the first place’ (Pathé,

2002, p.57). Such advice, it is suggested, encourages a victim to closely manage their associations and behaviours in order to minimise their risk.

Self-protective behaviours are measures that victims take in order to avoid victimisation, sustaining injury and/or completion of a crime against them (Powers & Simpson, 2012). It is argued that self-protective victim responses to stalking determine the persistence of the offender and therefore the consequences associated with prolonged offending behaviour (Clarke & Felson, 1993; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999). Existing literature suggests that most situational, victim self-protective behaviours decrease the likelihood that a crime will be completed. For instance, a long-standing academic debate surrounding the effectiveness of victim self-protective behaviours during rape, whether the intervention be forceful/non-forceful, verbal and/or physical, continues due to conflicting results in empirical studies (Bachman, Saltzman, Thompson & Carmody, 2002). Overall, it appears that non-forceful, verbal self-protective behaviours have generally been found to be ineffective in avoiding rape (Guerette & Santana, 2010; Powers & Simpson, 2012; Goodman, Dutton, Vankos & Wienfurt, 2005; Bachman, Saltzman, Thompson & Carmody, 2002). In point of fact, it has been acknowledged that (Guerette & Santana, 2010, p.220):

> most applications of opportunity theory have paid little attention to victims' behaviour as a vehicle for reducing the attractiveness of crime, particularly during the crime event. For safe practice, the entire body of research on victim resistance indicates that victim behaviour can shape the progression of crime incidents, not only by taking protective measures to avoid the onset of crime events but also during the process.

A theoretically consistent view concerning self-protective behaviours is to consider responses to stalking as victim-initiated situational crime prevention (Guerette & Santana, 2010). Where a victim of stalking delays in reporting the behaviour, it is expected that the duration of stalking will be longer than those victims who report earlier (de Becker, 1997; Goldsworthy & Raj, 2014). There exists a positive correlation between the duration of an incident of stalking and its intensity; several studies suggest that increased psychological distress is associated with longer duration of stalking (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004).

Intervention and response may be important in the prevention of stalking (James & Farnham, 2003). It is averred that the exploration of victim responses, particularly their timing and nature, to deter stalkers is likely to yield enormous benefit by informing future practice in the prevention of stalking. Examination of self-protective victim responses may show a relationship between early, adaptive responses, such as 'taking legal action' and the effective deterrence of an offender's motivation and/or reduction in the 'suitability' of a target (i.e., the victim of stalking) (Cohen & Felson, 1979). To be sure, the benefits of studying victims are wide-ranging and, can, at times, be 'unanticipated' (Karmen, 2013, p.25). By observing the full range of victim reactions to individual plights, those victims who overcome adversity can emerge as positive role models (Karmen, 2013).

Just World Hypothesis

This research also includes reference to Lerner's (1980) 'Just World' hypothesis, which refers to generally developed assumptions held by individuals that 'underlie the way in which they

orient themselves to their environment' (Lerner, 1980, p.9). These assumptions have a functional component, that is, they form part of an individual's 'image of a manageable and predictable world' (Lerner, 1980, p.9). According to the hypothesis, in the pursuit of rationalising the world around them, individuals desire to believe that the world is an orderly and just place (Andre & Velasquez, 1990). This includes a belief that they exist in a world where people 'get what they deserve' (Lerner, 1980, p.11) and that an individual's actions will have predictable consequences. Importantly, the hypothesis posits that when a person's confidence in a just world is undermined, they act either to restore justice, or they deny that any injustice ever occurred (Andre & Velasquez, 1990; Lerner, 1980).

Largely, research focused on the application of the just world hypothesis has been experimental in nature and has predominantly focused on its negative functions, such as disdain for victims (Dalbert, 2009). The hypothesis is 'dynamic' (Dalbert, 2009, p.2) and was first propounded by Lerner and Simmon (1966), whose study involved participants confronted with (Dalbert, 2009, p. 2):

> an 'innocent victim', a young woman participating in a learning task who was punished for each mistake by being administered seemingly painful electric shocks. When led to believe that the experiment would continue in the same way, the participants showed disdain for the victim on an adjective measure; when led to believe that the victim would be compensated for the pain of the electric shocks by receiving money for each correct answer in a second part of the experiment, they stopped showing disdain. Finally, nearly all participants who were given the choice between continuing the shock condition and switching to the compensation condition voted for the latter. Note,

> however, that merely voting to award the victim compensation did not stop participants from derogating the victim. It was only when they were certain that compensation would be given that the injustice was no longer assimilated. This innocent victim paradigm remains the most influential in modern experimental just world research; it is only the type of innocent victim that has changed.

The data collected as part of the study provided support for the initial hypotheses (Lerner & Simmons, 1966, p.209):

> As expected, the least rejection occurred when the observer has actually altered the fate of the victim and allowed her to obtain a reward. When the observer was unable to stop the suffering, other than by an act of open rebellion against the experimenter, she chose to devalue and reject the victim.

In its application to victimology, the just world hypothesis is capable of informing current practice by providing insight to perceptions of those able to assist victims of crime, including victims themselves. This may serve to inform awareness of victim behaviours and appropriate responses. As part of a recent exploration of the just world hypothesis, it was acknowledged that (Strömwall, Alfredsson & Landström, 2013, p.208):

> Victim blaming is explained by arguing that there are no innocent victims. If something bad has happened to someone, he/she must have done something to deserve it, or even cause it. Accordingly, people will blame the victim to ensure that a rape simply could not happen to good people (i.e. themselves). The Just World theory has often been used

as an ad hoc explanation in victim-blaming studies, and not tested in experimental designs.

It is common for victims of stalking to blame themselves for their ordeal, however misplaced that reaction may be (Pathé, 2002; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2006). Many victims internalise their affliction, and some believe that they have somehow engendered their experience, or they at least ruminate on the ways in which they may be responsible for instilling their pursuer's fixation (Orion, 1997). Research indicates that victims who blame themselves have greater symptoms of depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Kraaij, Arensman, Garnefski & Kremers, 2007). It is submitted that victim self-blaming is likely to be more common among victims who have previously maintained a romantic relationship with their stalker. This internalisation or belief that they, as victims, deserve their predicament as part of a just world may have the effect of reducing prompt and robust attempts to curb the stalking, which may lead, overall, to fewer victim interventions and protracted instances of stalking.

Summary

The theoretical framework upon which this research is founded has been identified. Importantly, theoretical perspectives on victimisation contribute to our epistemological understanding and the development of the discipline of criminology. In addition to providing a foundation for existing and future research, several theories assist in identifying root causes of crime and successful prevention methods. In further consideration of the significance of theoretical perspectives, it is highlighted that they fill a 'central void' and promote the notion that crime is 'processual, emergent and interactive' (Rock, 2007, p.53). The theoretical frameworks

canvassed above have direct application to this thesis in a number of ways, chief among them being that they inform the findings of the empirical study conducted as part of this project, which are discussed in Chapter Nine.

Crucially, criminological theories show how crime is concentrated in time, space and society; they underscore how sharp moral, political and ontological separations between victim and offender may not always be empirically defensible; they have exposed the hazards of generalising and imputing traits to victims; and they have pointed to the manner in which exposure to the criminal justice system may exacerbate victimisation and encourage what some call 'secondary victimisation' (Rock, 2007, p.53). The following chapter, Chapter Five, identifies common victim responses to stalking and explores the existing research showing those victim responses that are considered to be most effective in abating stalking behaviour.

Chapter Five: A Victimological Approach to Stalking

Introduction

This chapter contributes to the thesis by reviewing the empirical work relating to victim responses to being stalked and strives to answer the question: *What works?* The chapter focuses on the strategies employed by victims to stop their stalker, for example, contacting the police or ignoring the stalker. Crucially, the work highlights a disparity between those responses that are commonly employed and those that are perceived as helpful. This chapter makes it clear that the continued investigation of victim responses is crucial to curbing the stalking problem.

Since the global recognition of the phenomenon of stalking circa 1990, concerted efforts have been made to establish protective measures and effective coping strategies for victims (de Becker, 1997; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997; Pathé, 2002). The insidious nature of stalking, being a course of conduct that is typically intended to cause fear or detriment, has remained a problem for interventionists. Most stalkers are former partners (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) who typically form a potent mix of jealousy and anger as a result of a relationship breakdown (Douglas & Dutton, 2001; Dressing et al. 2005; Meloy, 1999; Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2000). The fact remains that, among pursuers, those who have shared a close relationship with their intended target can be at an advantage. The former-intimate stalker often possesses detailed information about their target and is therefore considered far

more able to coercively control their intended victim. Once a victim decides to take steps to deter their stalker, the dyadic bond that starts to form between pursuer and victim has been described as 'fascinating' (de Becker, 1997, p.125). In particular (de Becker, 1997, p.125):

> The pursuer and the victim begin to actually have something in common — neither wants to let go. The pursuer is obsessed with getting a response and the victim becomes obsessed with making the harassment stop.

As far as victimological exploration is concerned, the individual methods undertaken by victims to abate instances of stalking have been surveyed (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009; Bjerregaard, 2000; Brewster, 1999; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2000; Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000; Haugaard & Seri, 2003; Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001). While the stalking experiences of females attending tertiary education institutions (e.g., colleges in the United States) is overwhelmingly documented, limited information is available showing, more generally, the victim responses that effectively discourage victimisation (Bjorklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan & Roberts, 2010). Moreover, there is a discernible absence of work investigating the significance of victim characteristics that are related to victim responses (Jordan, Wilcox & Pritchard, 2007). Although research into stalking and victim responses has increased in the past two decades, it has been suggested that more in-depth investigations are needed that explore the effectiveness of victim responses to stalking (Davis & Frieze, 2000; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998).

Common Victim Responses to Stalking

Victims of stalking respond with an 'array of tactics' (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011, p.1131) and common responses include changing routine activities (Baum, Catalano & Rose, 2009), enlisting the help of family or friends (Baum et al., 2009), reasoning or trying to reason with the pursuer (Brewster, 1998), avoiding or ignoring the pursuer (Brewster, 1998; Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 1999; Sinclair & Frieze, 2005), and avoiding certain places (Budd & Mattinson, 2000). It would appear that avoiding a stalker and ignoring a stalker are distinct. For example, a victim of stalking may avoid contact with an individual despite not having recently been approached or harassed. The practice of ignoring a stalker denotes that the pursuer is contacting or attempting to communicate with the victim, but the victim is actively disregarding these attempts. In the most serious of cases, it is not uncommon for victims of stalking to contact the police (Baum, Catalano & Rose, 2009; Bjerregaard, 2000; Brewster, 1998) or obtain a restraining order (Baum, Catalano & Rose, 2009; Mechanic, Weaver & Resick, 2000). Previous research has highlighted the irony of studies indicating that, viewed from a correlational perspective, the more responses a victim of stalking employs to stop unwanted pursuit, the more likely it is that they will make matters worse, that is, the potential to be stalked for longer (Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012). It has been stressed that this irony does not imply that all responses are ineffective, but that it is difficult to navigate how responses function over the course of being pursued (Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012).

Ignoring a stalker. Early research based on data gathered from a telephone survey of a randomly selected national sample of college women in the United States (n=4,446) (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 1999) identified five types of actions that victims of stalking employed:

Avoidance (e.g., moved residence, avoided or tried to avoid the stalker); Legal/Judicial (e.g., sought a restraining order, filed civil charges); Self-protection (e.g., got caller ID, bought a weapon); Psychological (e.g., sought counselling, became less trustful or more cynical of others); and Confrontation (i.e., confronted the stalker) (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 1999). The study found that of those stalked (13.1 per cent), the most common response to being stalked was to avoid or ignore the stalker (43.2 per cent). Lamentably, participants were not asked about the effectiveness of their responses to stalking (Dutton & Winstead, 2011).

Too often, victims of stalking, particularly students, attempt to manage by themselves the problem of being pursued. Victims do this through changing their social environment, ignoring the stalker, or, while reported far less frequently, by confronting the stalker (Amar, 2006; Bjerregaard, 2000; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997). As part of the first epidemiological study to identify the strategies most frequently used by victims to cope with being stalked, data collected from two samples of college students in the United States (N=593) showed that of those females stalked (n=98) the most frequent response was to ignore their stalker (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997). Among both male and female victims of stalking (n=144), the most common responses employed were ignoring or ending phone calls, confronting the stalker, and changing schedule to avoid the stalker (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker 1997). Involving the police was a far less frequently reported strategy (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997). Relatedly, a similar study found that a clear majority of female victims (77.9 per cent), compared to male victims (55.2 per cent), confronted their stalker by asking the offender to desist (Bjerregaard, 2000). Surprisingly, considerably more female victims (12.4 per cent,

compared to zero per cent for male victims) reported that this caused the stalking to stop (Bjerregaard, 2000; Bjorklund, Sheridan & Roberts, 2010).

A more recent study (Amar & Alexy, 2010) exploring coping strategies of victims of stalking (*n*=69) among a sample of college students in the United States used a Likert scale (Never, Occasionally, Often, Very Often, and Constantly) to measure the extent of victim responses. Similar to earlier work (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997), results showed that one of the most common coping strategies employed by victims was to ignore the problem (Often 34 per cent; Very Often 20 per cent). The study also found that victims of stalking responded by minimising the problem in their minds (Often 38 per cent; Very Often 20 per cent), distancing themselves (Often 23 per cent; Very Often 23 per cent), detaching or depersonalising (Often 23 per cent; Very Often 28 per cent), using verbal escape tactics (Often 20 per cent; Very Often 22 per cent), attempting to end the relationship (Often 18 per cent; Very Often 18 per cent), controlling the interaction (Often 23 per cent; Very Often 18 per cent), and restricting the stalkers accessibility to themselves (Occasionally 21 per cent; Often 24 per cent) (Amar & Alexy, 2010).

In a separate study among a stratified sample of college women in the United States, one-fifth (*n*=78) reported stalking victimisation while studying at their institution (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009). The study found that the most frequently reported stalking behaviours were (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.421):

> being watched from afar (64.9 per cent), being followed or spied on (62.8 per cent), being waited for outside or inside places (e.g., house, classes or work; 53.2 per cent), receiving

unsolicited phone calls (51.3 per cent), and receiving unsolicited emails (44.9 per cent). Two-thirds of participants (68.7 per cent) reported that their stalkers communicated with them in other ways. Of note, participants reported most frequently being stalked by an acquaintance (48.7 per cent), classmate (37.2 per cent), boyfriend or ex-boyfriend (34.6 per cent), or friend (11.5 per cent), and most commonly identified their stalkers as being around the same age (60.3 per cent) or older than (23.1 per cent) themselves.

Of those stalked approximately half (*n*=37) acknowledged that they did not seek help (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009). Of those women who did seek help (*n*=41), most (90.2 per cent) sought assistance from friends. Those who did not seek help (*n*=37) were asked to explain why not, and the most common response was 'I didn't think the situation was serious' (62.2 per cent) (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.421), followed by 'I wanted to handle the situation myself' (35.1 per cent), 'I didn't want anyone else involved' (29.7 per cent), and 'It was a private/personal matter' (24.3 per cent) (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.422).

As part of a 2001 investigation undertaken to explore legal help-seeking experiences of recent (i.e., during the previous five years) former-intimate stalking victims (*N*=187 females) (Brewster, 2001), in-depth interviews were conducted with female stalking victims pursued by their former partners. It was reported that the majority of women tried to reason with their stalkers (69.5 per cent) and many tried to ignore their stalker (42.8 per cent) (Brewster, 2001). It was highlighted that, in most cases, women attempted to deal with the stalking situation on their own before resorting to legal intervention because they knew their stalkers (Brewster, 2001). Similarly, a 2011 study showed that among female victims of stalking by former partners (*n*=76), the most frequently reported responses to stalking were 'acted nicely' (90.5

per cent) and ‘did nothing’ (73 per cent) (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). From the same sample, only 1.3 per cent of victims reported taking legal action (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). For many victims, ignoring a stalker is a strategy that is consciously employed, however, any apparent inertia on the part of the victim in relation to this response does not accurately reflect their desire for pursuit behaviours to desist.

In assessing the strategies for minimising the impact of stalking of medical doctors by patients, denial was found to be a common reaction to harassment, and was considered to be a way of enabling doctors to continue working (Bird, 2009). A rationale for this was provided by noting that ‘some doctors fear that their victimisation may be seen to be the consequences of their own actions’ (Bird, 2009). Ignoring a stalker can have ‘very severe implications’ for victims (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003, p.466). Early research conducted to analyse stalking contended that a stalker’s actions constituted learned behaviour that is developed and maintained by other reinforcing behaviour (Westrup & Fremouw, 1998).

While it is accepted that in some circumstances of stalking ignoring the behaviours may cause them to cease, this response may also lead to pursuit behaviours escalating in frequency and/or intensity, and may, indeed, result in a situation where a ‘previously non-aggressive stalker may temporarily increase his or her intrusive behaviour to the point of aggression when being consistently ignored’ (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003, p.466). Where a stalker feels rejected by virtue of being told their behaviour is unwanted or by being ignored, feelings of anger or shame may surge and subsequently cause their behaviour to become increasingly volatile and threatening. Indeed, the following statement was made by a victim who was pursued by a former intimate (Brewster, 2001, p.97):

> Reasoning with him had no effect. He'd vacillate more, the pleading and then the extreme anger. So, I guess, reasoning with him made his behaviour worse. Mostly at that point, I tried to have as little contact with him as possible.

A study conducted in 2005 that used a sample of 241 male and female students enrolled in a Psychology course at the University of Pittsburgh, explored when courtship persistence becomes intrusive pursuit (Sinclair & Frieze, 2005). It was determined that pursuers did not report perceiving much in the way of negative responses from their love interest such as rejections or discomfort, and, contrastingly, indicated that their targets had positive reactions and evidence of reciprocation (Sinclair & Frieze, 2005). Despite this finding, those being pursued were most likely to report avoiding (M=2.44) or ignoring (M=2.83) the stalker. Evidently, a critical divergence in perspectives exists between target and pursuers — specifically, a stalker who does not perceive that their actions have negative effects and dismisses explicit rejections has no reason to stop pursing (Sinclair & Frieze, 2005). This accords with advice disseminated within the existing literature that passive rejections should be avoided as they are open to (mis)interpretation and are a source of miscommunication (de Becker, 1997; Sinclair & Frieze, 2005).

Engaging law enforcement. Dissonance exists as to whether or not the intervention of law-enforcement is a protective function (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2002). Indeed, the solicitation of law enforcement aid may serve as a retaliation function (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2002). Findings from various studies exploring police report rates among female stalking victims show an incredibly broad range of frequencies: 92 per cent (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001b); 89 per cent (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002); 55 per cent (Tjaden & Thoennes,

1998); 38 per cent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, as cited in Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2000); 35 per cent (Bjerregaard, 2000); 17 per cent (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 1999); and 1.3 per cent (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen & Rohling, 2000).

In the aforementioned 2009 US study of college females (N=391) (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency), it was determined that very few victims (7.3 per cent) sought assistance from police (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009), and less than four per cent made an official report of stalking to the police. Strikingly, the study found that the most common reasons for not seeking help from the police were 'I believed the situation was too minor' (64.9 per cent), 'I was afraid the person doing these things to me would seek revenge' (40.5 per cent), 'It was a private/personal matter' (29.7 per cent), and 'I thought the police wouldn't believe me' (18.9 per cent)' (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.422).

Further, when participants 'were asked to provide any other reasons for not seeking help from the police, responses included: "I would not be receiving unwanted calls etc., if I had not put myself in the bad situations in the first place…i.e., my fault"; "The guy seemed harmless—I just assumed he lacked social skills" … [and] "Someone else turned him in for the same thing"' (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.422). To illustrate the issue of formal police reporting in comparison to similar offences, a 1999 study exploring victim-police interactions of women in domestic violence shelters found that of the 498 women involved, 58 per cent called the police in response to physical, emotional and other forms of domestic abuse (Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers & Alfonso, 1999). As part of the study, some respondents indicated that officers were not supportive and one participant stated that officers told her that 'If [you] call the police again, both [you] and your husband will be arrested and your children [will be] put

in foster homes' (Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers & Alfonso, 1999, p.1296). The findings showed that the police were more likely to be contacted when there was physical abuse and/or the offender was someone other than an ex-partner (Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers & Alfonso, 1999).

From an early study of 187 women who were recently (i.e., during the past five years) stalked (Brewster, 1998), former-intimate stalking victim responses to discourage pursuit behaviour were delineated as either extra-legal (e.g., reasoning with the stalker, moving, threatening to call the police) or legal (e.g., called police, filed criminal charges, filed for restraining order). The results showed that very few (9.1 per cent) victims engaging in extra-legal strategies reported that their situation improved. Mainly, extra-legal responses were considered ineffective or, indeed, causative of a negative effect on the stalker's behaviour. By contrast, of those victims who took legal steps to discourage their stalker, 16.4 per cent reported that there was an improvement in their situation, 50.7 per cent indicated that there was no change in the stalker's behaviour, and 16.8 per cent reported that the stalker's behaviour got worse. Overall, this early study found that police involvement, arrest, criminal charges, trial, and temporary restraining orders were considered by participants to have no effect on their stalker's behaviour (Brewster,1998).

Factors that tend to decrease help-seeking include social stigma attached to victimisation and a belief that reporting does not yield a positive outcome (Bachman, 1994). Of note, females are less likely to contact police when the offender is known (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Crucially, the time delay between a victim realising they are being stalked and contacting the police is virtually unexplored; contacting the police, for several victims, appears to be a 'response of last resort' once other methods of responding have failed (Dutton & Winstead,

2011; Spitzberg, 2002a). In an early stalking survey of 145 self-identified victims (Hall, 1997), approximately two-thirds indicated a need for better-drafted legislation, stricter sentencing, improved police training and greater sympathy for the victim (Brewster, 2001). From a large-scale US study of stalking victims (Tjaden & Thoennes,1998), those victims who thought the police should have done more to assist their case were subsequently asked to suggest actions that they thought the police should have taken. The results showed that victims believed that the police should have imprisoned their stalker (42 per cent), taken their situation more seriously (20 per cent), and done more to protect them (16 per cent) (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Based on these findings, there is cause for concern.

Seeking legal assistance. A part of this thesis has already addressed the use of legal remedies to deter the pursuit behaviours of another. It is often the case that the police will advise a stalking victim to obtain a restraining order as the first method of combating the intrusive behaviour (MacKenzie & James, 2011). The effectiveness of injunctions has consistently been brought into question, as they risk not only failing to protect a victim but, in some cases, also exacerbating the stalking behaviour (De Becker, 1997; MacKenzie & James, 2011; MacKenzie, Mullen & Ogloff, 2006; Pathé, 2002). Both the public and the individual victim's confidence in the protection afforded by these orders can be diminished through the reluctance of police to react to breaches of such orders (Baum, Catalano & Rand, 2009; de Becker, 1997; MacKenzie & James, 2011; Pathé, MacKenzie & Mullen, 2004).

Early research indicated that restraining orders were ignored by half of stalkers, especially if the victim had shared an intimate relationship with them (Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995). In a study of a small number of assessed cases experiencing pathologies of love (i.e.,

erotomania) (Mullen & Pathé, 1994a), it was found that 43 per cent of participants had been issued with restraining orders — most of whom turned subsequently violent. The investigators explained that 'when restraining or intervention orders were obtained they were seldom heeded, and in some cases paradoxically served to strengthen the resolve of the erotomanic' (Mullen & Pathé, 1994a, p.476). Chief among the pundits and, indeed, critics of temporary restraining orders, Gavin de Becker (1997, p.37) states:

> When it comes to safety, there is a lot of 'real truth' to go around, and some of it puts people at risk. For example, is it always best for a woman being stalked by an ex-husband to get a restraining order? This certainly is the conventional wisdom, yet women are killed every day by men they have court orders against, the often useless documents found by police in the purse or pocket of the victims.

The 'conventional wisdom' (de Becker, 1997, p.37) of applying for a restraining order is one that is deserving of scrutiny. Calls for proper evaluation and risk assessment when considering injunction orders have been made (de Becker, 1997; MacKenzie, McEwan, Pathé, James, Ogloff & Mullen, 2009). Importantly, strong recommendation is made for early response when considering an application for injunctive relief, due to the following (de Becker, 1997, p.205):

> Generally speaking, court orders that are introduced early carry less risk than those introduced after the stalker has made a significant emotional investment or introduced threats and other sinister behaviour. Restraining orders obtained soon after a pursuer

has ignored a single explicit rejection will carry more clout and less risk than those obtained after many months or years of stalking.

Effectiveness of Victim Responses to Stalking

Responses to stalking are situational, and it is argued that successful techniques to deter persistent offenders will necessarily include one or more of the five conceptual categories of situational crime prevention (Clarke, 1980; 1985; 1997). Feelings of helplessness and the belief that interventions are futile are often experienced by victims of stalking, with the end result being that acts to abate the stalking are deployed too late (Englebrecht & Reyns, 2011; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998). Several reasons may exist as to why a victim of stalking applies his or her discretion in determining that police or legal intervention would, at a particular stage, be inappropriate or ill-fated (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Jordan, Wilcox & Pritchard, 2007).

As part of one of the largest-scale population-based studies to explore stalking based on data retrieved in the United States (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), the most frequently reported reasons provided by victims of stalking as to why their ordeal ceased were that 'the victim moved (19 per cent), the stalker got a new love interest (18 per cent), the police warned the stalker (15 per cent), and the victim talked to the stalker (10 per cent)' (Dutton & Winstead, 2010, p.1134). Later research (Baum Catalano & Rose, 2009) similarly found that the most frequently cited reasons for the cessation of a stalking episode 'were that the police warned the stalker (15.6 per cent), the victim talked to the stalker (13.3 per cent), a friend or relative intervened (12.2 per cent), the victim moved (10.8 per cent), and the victim changed his or her phone number

or email address (10.7 per cent). Fifteen percent of the victims did not know why the stalking activity stopped' (Dutton & Winstead, 2010, p.1134).

Based on existing studies of stalking, a typology has been developed of coping tactics used by victims to avoid or arrest instances of unwanted pursuit (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Spitzberg, 2002b; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001, 2003). The typology is similar to earlier work (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 1999) and comprises five categories: moving with; moving against; moving away; moving inward; and moving outward. Examples of behaviours associated with each of these categories include the following (see Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012, p.421): 'moving with' includes direct interaction, suggesting the stalker gets help, resuming relationship; 'moving against' includes deterring or attacking the stalker, seeking third-party action (legal, physical, threatening stalker); 'moving away' includes avoiding, changing routine, withdrawing from society, using caller ID, security measures; 'moving inward' includes repairing, empowering the self, psychotherapy, using alcohol, drugs, preparing for any interaction (rape alarm, weapon, mobile phone); and 'moving outward' includes seeking emotional support, obtaining assistance from others to assist efforts in avoiding, deterring contact, obtaining advice, family, empathy, hiring a security guard, applying for a restraining order.

Figure 4: Typology of coping tactics (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001).

Structural equation modelling performed on stalking behaviours, in addition to victim-coping responses and symptoms, indicated that the negative effects of stalking on victims is mediated by the use of coping strategies and the adequacy of social support (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001). To be sure, certain types of responses are more likely to be effective than others in the long run; in particular, moving away and moving outward are considered to be more helpful (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Moving away responses are, purportedly, 'most likely to erode the pursuer's interest' (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004, p.161). This is consistent with earlier empirical findings showing the most frequently reported victim perception of a chosen intervention being effective in stopping the stalking was that the victim moved (19 per cent) (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). From the very few studies that have addressed victim interventions, the next most commonly reported reasons for an episode of stalking to cease include the stalker entering a new relationship, or because the police warned or arrested the stalker (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001a; Sheridan, Gillett, Davies, Blaauw & Patel, 2003; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998).

'Moving outward' responses are helpful because informing and alerting others can serve to insulate the target. 'Moving with' responses are seen to be counterproductive, as further contact can reinforce unwanted behaviours. 'Moving against' tactics can also reinforce unwanted behaviour, as it may be the pursuer's intent to cause distress; steps taken by the target to demonstrate anger or retaliation will communicate to the pursuer that their behaviour is causing an effect, successfully disturbing their target's lifestyle (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). One exception, however, is taking legal action, which is considered to be a relatively effective 'moving against' tactic (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004). This finding has been confirmed in more recent research (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). 'Moving inward' tactics are

seen to be the least-effective response because such measures (e.g., alcohol or drug use, denial) do not serve to stop the unwanted pursuit; instead, they act as analgesics. Indeed, responses of this type are more likely to cause the victim to become vulnerable by exacerbating the situation as they may 'become a more accessible, locatable, and acquiescent object of harassment' (Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012, p.416; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007).

The spectrum of responses that encapsulate this typology of coping tactics (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) can be applied to the framework of situational crime prevention (Clarke, 1980; 1985; 1997). As previously outlined, the five conceptual categories of SCP that are considered adaptive interventions are: techniques to increase the amount of effort needed to engage in crime; techniques to increase the risk for offenders; tactics to reduce the rewards for engaging in crime; methods to reduce provocations; and techniques to remove the excuses for engaging in crime (Clarke, 1997; Cornish & Clarke, 2003). 'Moving outward' and 'moving away' responses can be considered tactics that increase the effort needed to engage in crime, as well as the risk for offenders. Moreover, for those respondents who apply for a restraining order ('moving outward'), this technique can remove the excuses for the stalker to engage in crime. Broadly, 'moving against' tactics can also increase the effort needed on the part of the stalker, as well as removing excuses. However, a caveat remains for this type of response in so far as existing opinion has been led (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004), as 'moving against' appears to carry an inherent risk in increasing provocations or, for those stalkers attempting to elicit frustration or anger on the part of their victim, increasing rewards.

For similar reasons, 'moving with' responses have the potential to increase the rewards for engaging in stalking. They may also fail to communicate to the stalker that their behaviour is

unwanted, which may, subjectively, on the part of the stalker, create an excuse for their behaviour. Invariably, 'moving inward' responses, as outlined in previous research (Dutton & Winstead, 2011), fails to fall within any of the categories of adaptive interventions for situational crime prevention. In line with SCP, the typology of coping tactics identifies that optimal responses include those that work to frustrate or undermine the stalker's behaviour. It is suggested that the typology of coping tactics is, at present, one of the more appropriate models to view victim responses and, indeed, to measure their efficacy.

A 2013 study of female victims of stalking in Portugal explored, among other things, relational stalking and the behaviours of stalkers found within a previously existing relationship (Ferreira & Matos, 2013). The research was inspired by available data suggesting that previous coercive control over the female partner were the best elements to predict post-break-up stalking (Ferreira & Matos, 2013; Mechanic, Weaver & Resick, 2002). From the sample of heterosexual female victims of stalking (N=107), it was found that 63.6 per cent of the women had been married to their stalkers, 29.9 per cent had been dating them, 5.6 per cent had been living with them (without marriage) and 0.9 per cent had other type of relationship with the stalker (i.e., adulterous) (Ferriera & Matos, 2013). Participants were asked to indicate the nature of any previous relationship between them and their stalker with results showing that 35 per cent rated their former relationship as 'extremely negative' and 36.4 per cent rated it as 'negative' (Ferrieira & Matos, 2013). More than half of participants (63.8 per cent) were pursued for six or more months and 34.5 per cent experienced protracted episodes of stalking of more than two years.

Nearly all of the victims (*n*=105) reported that they had taken some strategic actions as a result of their post-relationship stalking victimisation. Despite this, the study recognised that not all coping strategies are helpful. Using previous research on coping strategies of obsessive relational intrusion (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001, 2007; Spitzberg, 2002), it was found that nearly one-fifth of the victims engaged exclusively in strategies that were inadequate (negotiation to confront their stalker or to minimise stalking victimisation) (Ferriera & Matos, 2013). By contrast, 18.1 per cent exclusively implemented strategies that were considered adequate (to avoid the stalker, to seek support from family or friends and/or formal institutions). Most of the participants (62.9 per cent) engaged in a set of mixed strategies (i.e., at least one strategy considered to be adequate and one considered inadequate). Overall, coping strategies reported more frequently in this study were to seek help from friends and family (*n*=65) and to negotiate with the stalker (*n*=57). Fewer than half of the participants employed other actions: to confront the stalker (*n*=43), to seek formal support (*n*=42), to avoid the stalker (n=38) and to deny or minimise stalking victimisation (*n*=22) (Ferriera & Matos, 2013).

Research has consistently shown that the majority of stalkers are ex-partners (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Pathé, 2002; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Sheridan & Boon, 2001; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Many break-up sufferers are likely to perceive their unwanted pursuit behaviours as legitimate efforts to restore their prior intimate relationship (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen & Rohling, 2000). For many victims of stalking, 'breaking-up' can be hard to do. The role that communication has in the early stages of stalking should not be overlooked. It has been suggested that the following preferred statement should

be issued to an unwanted pursuer (including a former boyfriend or girlfriend) in the hope of breaking their persistence (de Becker, 2002, p.38):

> No matter what you may have assumed till now, and no matter for what reason you assumed it, I have no romantic interest in you whatsoever. I am certain I never will. I expect that knowing this, you'll put your attention elsewhere, which I understand, because that's what I intend to do.

The above statement is unequivocal. It is clearly intended to communicate the victim's firm position, avoiding instances whereby slight gesture and ambiguous language and/or reasoning are capable of leading the pursuer to believe that acts of pursuit may re-establish a relationship. A policy of being assertive at an early stage about one's lack of interest in any form of intimate relationship should be encouraged. Nevertheless, at present, a paucity of empirical research exists to support such a recommendation (Davis & Coker, 2002; Sinclair & Frieze, 2005).

As part of the first phase of an early study exploring pursuit behaviours following the dissolution of a relationship, a community sample of 50 female victims of harassment were identified as having engaged in two types of responses — indirect (i.e., took no action or acted nicely) and direct (i.e., avoided the person or protected themselves) (Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal & Wilson, 1984). Generally, victims were contacted daily through various media (calls, letters and visitations), with most experiences lasting for about a year. Findings indicated that assertive strategies were not more effective in reducing harassment. Although victims were pursued for fewer months, the intrusions were more frequent per week (Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal & Wilson, 1984). In the second phase of the study, among a sample of 48 college students,

direct strategies were associated with protracted instances of harassment but intrusions were less frequent (Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal & Wilson, 1984).

Communicating with a stalker is fraught with risk. Indeed, a recent study exploring fear levels and coping strategies among 147 victims of stalking in the Czech Republic found that female victims engaging in proactive behaviours (e.g., meeting the stalker face-to-face, reporting the stalker, changing address) expressed higher fear levels than males victims and those engaging in passive (e.g., ignored or changed nothing) or avoidance responses (e.g., changed daily routine) (Podaná & Imríšková, 2016). There is also the problem that reinforcing behaviours — such as picking up the phone after the stalker has consecutively attempted to call 40 times — are capable of communicating to the stalker that their target will respond eventually, namely, on the forty-first attempt (de Becker, 1997; Orion, 1997; Pathé, 2002). Inconsistent and ill-conceived responses on the part of a victim may reinforce stalking behaviour and engender a phenomenon known as 'extinction burst' (Westrup, 1998) — 'a situation where previous reinforcing behaviours (picking up the phone) that are now ignored could lead to an escalation in frequency and intensity' (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003, p.466). It has previously been recognised that 'perhaps the most common mistake that stalking victims make is to initiate personal contact with the stalker. This behaviour is usually driven by guilt, kindness, anger, or fear but is a misguided attempt to reason with an unreasonable individual' (Meloy, 1999, p.94).

Results from a recent study indicate that, broadly, victim responses to stalking are capricious and the effectiveness of particular responses is unsettled, with no specific response being held as effective all, or indeed even most, of the time (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). The research compared both male and female targets' and pursuers' perspectives on what factors contributed

to the cessation of unwanted pursuit, and was found that, overall, 'Avoidance/Minimization' tactics were most frequently reported as opposed to 'Assertion/Aggression' tactics (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). The study investigated the types, frequency and, importantly, the effectiveness of responses to stalking after relationship termination (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Participants were drawn from the student population at two mid-Atlantic universities and they were required to indicate whether, at any time in their lives, they had experienced a romantic relationship and either they or their former partner had experienced difficulty in letting the relationship end.

Following a discrimination process, analyses showed that the sample included 158 victims of pursuit behaviours ('targets') (95 women, 62 men, one gender unreported), and 139 participants who had engaged in pursuit behaviours ('pursuers') (80 women, 59 men) (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). As part of the study, targets rated how often they engaged in responses using a four-point scale (0=never to 3=frequently) and rated how effective the response was in causing the pursuit to stop using a five-point scale (0=not at all effective to 4=extremely effective) (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Similarly, pursuers rated, on a four-point scale, how often their targets engaged in one of the 19 specific responses (0= never to 3=frequently) and how effective it was (0=not at all effective to 4=extremely effective) (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). The results showed that "acted nicely" was the most common target response reported by both target and pursuers (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). The explanation for this was that perhaps, being former romantic partners, there was a strong desire on the part of victims/targets not to hurt their partners' feelings, or exacerbate their feelings of rejection (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). The results indicated that 'acting nicely' was ineffective at deterring pursuit behaviours.

Moreover, a clear majority (85 per cent) of female targets tried to ignore the stalker, with indications that this, too, was ineffective.

In contrast, among female targets, very few took legal action in an attempt to stop pursuit behaviours (1.3 per cent), yet of those who did, it was held to be very effective (*M*= 3.0) (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). This finding differs from a UK study of 95 self-defined stalking victims that showed 92 per cent of victims had reported the activities of their stalker to the police and a third had obtained a civil injunction to deter their stalker (Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001). Evidently, many victims respond to unwanted pursuit in indirect ways, such as acting nicely or hoping that the pursuer will give up over time (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004). Actions motivated by a strong desire not to exacerbate a rejected partner's feelings has been viewed as counterproductive and potentially dangerous (de Becker, 1997).

For the male pursuers, actions such as "made threats" and "aggressive verbal confrontation" were rated as the most effective (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). The results suggested that the most active and dramatic responses were perceived as most effective by both targets and pursuers (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). An additional outcome from this study confirmed the view that 'during the break-up of a relationship, the person who is terminating the relationship may not be clear and firm in their communication of their intention' (Dutton & Winstead, 2011, p.1151). Moreover, it was found that partners who resist the break-up may require a strong, unequivocal message clarifying that no future relationship is likely to exist between the parties (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). It would appear that the most common methods deployed by victims to abate stalking are, in fact, not always the most effective. In the knowledge that ex-intimates are at greatest risk of physical assault and that persistence is higher among those who

have been in a prior relationship (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002), it is submitted that instances of stalking perpetrated by ex-intimates are more likely to become violent, aggressive and persistent due to the victim failing to take immediate, measured action. In the light of the above, this present research considers response effectiveness for the purpose of informing stalking victims as to what action to take and when. Relatedly, behaviours that are unhelpful can be advised against.

Summary and Implications

This chapter canvassed the findings of existing empirical research that has explored victim responses to stalking. In summary, just as there are many methods to stalk another, there are many ways in which a victim can respond to being stalked (Cupach and Spitzberg, 2004). Often, victims respond by avoiding, ignoring or, indeed, 'acting nicely' to the stalker (Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 1999), with research showing that, as judged by victims' perspectives, these responses are ineffective (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Victims of stalking seldom approach the police for help or take legal actions (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009; Dutton & Winstead, 2011) — tactics which research has indicated to be effective in stopping the stalker (Baum, Catalano & Rose, 2009; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Tjaden & Thonnes, 1998).

Concern exists for the risk that restraining orders may exacerbate stalking behaviour (de Becker, 1997; MacKenzie & James, 2011; MacKenzie, Mullen & Ogloff, 2006; Pathé 2002), and there is the suggestion that such orders should be sought and issued against the stalker sooner rather than later (de Becker, 1997). There is also the concern that passive rejections (i.e.,

avoidance) on the part of the victim may be a source of miscommunication (de Becker, 1997; Sinclair & Frieze, 2005), with research indicating that, particularly at the end of a romantic relationship, intentions to terminate the love affair should be communicated both clearly and firmly (Dutton & Winstead, 2011).

It is clear that, in concert with other literature (Mechanic, 2002), a majority of stalking victims commonly rely on personal and informal strategies of coping until the stalking escalates in frequency and severity. It is similarly evident that the field of victimological research in relation to stalking needs further study. Indeed, greater exploration of the impact of victim responses on the duration and intensity of stalking is desirable. Significantly, the present study is opportune. The timing of victim responses require investigation, as early, adaptive responses to stalking may be more likely to deter pursuit behaviours than those employed in the later stages of victimisation. The next chapter, Chapter Six, details the research methodology that underpins the study, in particular, an online survey of victim responses to stalking that was conducted as the empirical component of this doctoral thesis.

Chapter Six: Research Design and Methods

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Introduction

This chapter describes the framework of the empirical study that underpins this thesis. The overarching research goals are to examine the responses made by victims of stalking and measure the effectiveness of any given response(s) as crime-reduction strategies, in particular, whether: (a) victim-initiated responses to stalking interact with the intensity and duration of stalking; and (b) the delay of particular victim-initiated responses affects the intensity and duration of stalking. Broadly, then, the research focusses on the following: (1) how victims of stalking reacted to being stalked (e.g., moved house, changed phone number, reported to police); and (2) the timing of when each of those strategies were performed (i.e., was the response deployed before or after two weeks?).

To achieve the goals of the study, a survey methodology was adopted to gather self-report data from female victims of stalking in Australia. The recruitment of participants was facilitated in several ways and included the use of different forms of national media to promote the survey, collaborating with victim support groups and delivering the survey online. This chapter begins by mapping the research design of the doctoral project and then provides details of the methodology, including information relating to recruitment methods, sampling procedure, instruments used, respondents, ethical considerations and, finally, analysis. The

following two chapters, Chapters Seven and Eight, present, respectively, the quantitative and qualitative results of the survey conducted as part of this research.

Research Design

This research first examines the range of reactions employed by stalking victims in the Australian context. It then seeks to determine when those reactions were employed in the period of the stalking behaviour and, crucially, whether the reaction/response and the timing of the response were related to the overall or subsequent intensity and duration of the stalking episode. The study explores whether delay in deploying assertive/aggressive victim-initiated responses (i.e., moving against, moving outward) (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) is associated with protracted instances of stalking. For example, the study examines whether applying for a restraining order ('moving outward') or threatening the stalker ('moving against') one month after becoming aware of the stalking has a deleterious effect on the stalking than reacting sooner. Relatedly, it explores whether deploying avoidance/minimisation victim-initiated responses (i.e., 'moving away') (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) is associated with protracted instances of stalking — for example, whether withdrawing from society can prolong the duration of stalking.

To achieve the study, a purposive sample of female stalking victims was invited to voluntarily complete an anonymous survey that included direct questions about stalking victimisation — with the main goal of seeking information about strategies that they employed — in addition to behavioural and follow-up incident questions (See Appendix 1). The study relied on approaching victim-support agencies and accessing victims of personal crime, which

required sensitivity and appropriate measures to ensure confidence in the management of information. Respondents were able to complete the survey via the Internet. This method of survey completion was considered appropriate in the light of existing empirical research indicating that online data collection is diverse, representative, and has the capacity to involve large samples (Gosling, 2004). Moreover, an Internet-based survey afforded a greater opportunity to gather information concerning victims of stalking throughout Australia, rather than being confined to a single geographic location. The study was restricted to females for a few reasons, chief among them being that females are more likely to engage in victim-initiated responses than males (Mechanic, Weaver & Resick, 2002). Additionally, as canvassed in Chapter Two of this thesis, female victimisation has been found to be more 'chronic and severe' than the victimisation experienced by males (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000, p.52), which, arguably, may be the reason that females are more likely to employ a range of tactics to frustrate their stalker. Indeed, a recent study of 147 stalking victims in the Czech Republic found that males were more likely to choose a passive approach to stalking (i.e., ignore the stalker) than females (32 per cent compared with 20 per cent), and female victims were more likely to employ a proactive strategy (i.e., report to the police or change address) to manage the stalking (Podaná & Imríšková, 2016). Methodologically, restricting the study to females yielded a more homogenous sample. It is, of course, acknowledged that males are victims of stalking; however, research has consistently identified a greater representation of females among stalking victims and reluctance on the part of males to report victimisation (Dressing, Gass & Kuehner, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). The study was limited to participants living in Australia to, similarly, provide a more homogenous sample.

Recruitment

The purposive sample was designed to be as comprehensive and as representative as possible and a number of recruitment strategies were employed to achieve this. The first step was to compile an exhaustive list of active victim-support organisations across Australia via online searches such as 'Victim support + Australia', 'Victim of Crime Support + Australia' and 'Stalking Helpline + Australia' (see Appendix 5). Each organisation was contacted by telephone and/or email and provided with information concerning the study (an explanatory statement and gatekeeper letter) and, once interest was expressed in assisting with the project, particular organisations were then sent an advertising poster designed to be displayed in victim-support offices (see Appendix 3). For example, a national relationships counselling agency and a local centre that assists victims of sexual violence both agreed to display posters for a period of six months. A second step was to promote the study via social media and establish a 'community' Facebook page that provided information about the study, including a link to the online survey. The page was regularly updated by attaching any legacy media items about the project and to exhibit all media associated with the study, and it allowed viewers to 'share' the information to their own social media profiles. The study was also promoted on Twitter via a university Twitter account with the title 'Been a stalking victim?'. The tweet included a link to a local public radio interview about the project and included a link to the Internet-based survey.

A third strategy was to engage with traditional news media to publicise the study (see Appendix 4). A national commercial television network broadcast an item about the stalking of local Queensland celebrities and information about the survey. The study was also publicised as part of a similar segment addressing the phenomenon of stalking via local radio. Additionally,

the study received attention online and in print media outlets. Generally, these sources indicated that the study was seeking victims of stalking to voluntarily participate, and provided specific information about how to take part in the survey. There was also an official media release on a university website and the study was featured in a university bi-annual colour magazine. A number of other strategies were enlisted to encourage volunteer participation. These included mentions at a university seminar and a victimology symposium. No incentives were used to attract participants, nor were any rewards offered in consideration for responses.

Instruments

A questionnaire was made publicly available via the Internet using an online-based survey generator — Survey Monkey — and also in hard-copy format (see Appendix 1). The public was granted access to the questionnaire on 3 April 2013 and the survey remained accessible for two years, nine months and 27 days. This duration was to increase the opportunity for victims of stalking to participate in the study. As the majority of the questionnaire was dedicated to responses to stalking, the title of the project, as viewed by respondents, was *Responding to Stalking*.

An Explanatory Statement provided at the beginning of the survey outlined the purpose of the study and the constitution of the questionnaire (see Appendix 3). Respondents were informed that their answers would remain anonymous and that any information provided should be in relation to a single episode of stalking, not based on multiple undifferentiated instances of victimisation. Respondents were required to indicate their consent to the use of their questionnaire answers and were informed that they had the opportunity to withdraw from

the study at any time. To manage any potential withdrawal of data, respondents were asked to construct a unique reference number comprising the last three digits of their telephone number and first and last letters of their surname or their mothers' maiden name, as well as their month of birth (e.g., 550RJ10). To date, no respondent has exercised her option to withdraw her responses.

A screening question required respondents to indicate that they met the survey participant criteria, that is, female, aged 18 years or over, living in Australia, and a victim of stalking. It was made clear that the estimated time to complete the questionnaire was between 40 and 60 minutes. The operationalisation of stalking was most consonant with Queensland legislation due to its broad scope. This operationalisation was placed at the start of the Explanatory Statement:

> ***Stalking*** includes intentionally being followed, watched, approached, contacted by phone, email, or other use of technology, being sent offensive material or being threatened or experiencing acts of violence towards you or your property (any of these behaviours must have occurred on more than one occasion) which has either caused you to be fearful, OR has caused you detriment (e.g., serious psychological harm, selling a property you would not otherwise sell, changing your route to work, fearful for another person's safety, etc.).

Although broad in its application, this operationalisation includes, as a criterion, victim fear. Previous research determined that rates of reported stalking greatly differ depending on the definition of stalking applied (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) and, indeed, it has been identified

that rates are higher when victims are asked if they feel they have been stalked than when strict legal definitions are used (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2002). By adopting a broader operational legal definition (i.e., in line with Queensland legislation), in comparison to narrower legal definitions of stalking elsewhere, this strategy was designed to both increase the opportunity to generate participants in the survey (i.e., the legal definition used is easier to satisfy than some others, for example, in New South Wales, where stalking consists of following or watching or frequenting the vicinity, and the accused must intend to cause fear of physical or mental harm to the complainant (*Crimes (Domestic and Personal Violence) Act 2007 (NSW)*).

It was also explained at the start of the survey that between some sections of the questionnaire respondents would be prompted to 'Take a Break' by answering questions that did not relate to their experiences of stalking. It was made clear, however, that the answers to these questions were equally important to the study. Taking into consideration the estimated duration for a respondent to complete the survey (40–60 minutes), one of the reasons that these questions were included was to allow respondents to briefly suspend recalling their experience of stalking victimisation. The questions comprised 20 items from Strahan & Gerbasi's Short Form of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale; M-C (20) (Marlowe & Crowne 1960; Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). The Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS) originally comprised 33 items, but further analysis (Marlow & Crowne, 1960) showed that the short-form version, M-C (20), was as internally consistent and, indeed preferred, 'where administration time is highly limited and the attendant drop in reliability tolerable' (Marlow & Crowne, 1960, p.193). This social desirability scale contains items designed to capture honest, open and truthful responses to statements such as 'I'm always willing to admit it when I make

a mistake', 'There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things', 'I like to gossip at times', and 'I always try to practice what I preach'.

The scale was included because of initial concern that some responses to the survey may lack authenticity (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 1999; Sheridan & Blaauw, 2004). Despite very little research existing on false reports of stalking, one study indicated that the false reporting rate was 11.5 per cent (Sheridan & Blaauw, 2004, p.55). The scale was incorporated to identify anyone who might be dissembling in their responses. As the survey relied on self-reporting, the inclusion of the scale was to assist in the measurement of those participants who might embellish their social desirability. There is also the fact that the survey was online, which meant that there were no other measures by which to judge the veracity of any responses.

The Questionnaire. The questionnaire drew from the work of Sheridan and Blaauw (2004), whose original 46-item self-report survey exploring victim experiences of stalking was adopted and enlarged as part of the national stalking survey in the United Kingdom (Network for Surviving Stalking, 2013). In 2004, this enlarged instrument was administered to 1,300 victims of stalking over a period of 12 months, and comprised eight sections and a total of 94 items. Using this questionnaire as a starting point assisted in determining the appropriate themes and items to use in measuring stalking victimisation experiences. The use of extant stalking scales (e.g., Coleman's Stalking Behaviour Checklist, 1997; Wright et al.'s Stalking Incident Checklist, 1996) was considered; however, they markedly differ, which prevented an appropriate determination of the sets of variables to use in order to accurately capture stalking experiences (Fox, Nobles & Fisher, 2011). It is acknowledged that a standardised questionnaire may 'often represent the least common denominator in assessing people's attitudes,

orientations, circumstances, and experiences' (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009, p.193); however, owing to a dearth of existing scales and tools to measure stalking victimisation, it is submitted that an existing instrument proffered the best method to proceed with the investigation of stalking victim experiences across a national population. Permission was sought from and granted by the first author (Sheridan) of both survey instruments to modify the adapted instrument to align with the research goals of the present study. This specifically modified instrument based on the one used in the 2004 Network for Surviving Stalking study (2013) provided a holistic questionnaire to use in the exploration of respondents' experiences, in particular, to measure factors that may affect the intensity and duration of stalking.

Questionnaire Section	**Sheridan & Blaauw (Number of items)**	**Present Study (Number of items)**
1	About you (8)	About you (3)
2	About the stalker (9)	About the stalker (8)
3	About the stalking (25)	About the stalking (29)
4	Responses from others (8)	Responses from others (6)
5	Your recommendations (7)	Your responses to stalking (84)
6	Support for victims of stalking/harassment (8)	The effects of stalking (10)
7	Your responses (15)	Your advice and recommendations (4)
8	The effects of stalking (14)	

Table 2: Comparison of the Sheridan and Blaauw (2004) instrument measuring stalking victimisation with that of the present study measuring responses to stalking.

A number of sections in the Sheridan and Blaauw instrument provided a context through which to measure stalking experiences. Table 2, as displayed above, shows the constitution of the Sheridan and Blaauw (2004) adapted instrument (i.e., the 94-item instrument used in the Network for Surviving Stalking survey) compared with the modified version used in the present study. Some sections and/or items were not relevant for the purpose of the present study and

were removed. For example, in the Sheridan and Blaauw (2004) instrument, Section Six — Support for victim of stalking/harassment — measured, among other things, whether stalking victims would appreciate an established stalking helpline and whether an information pack produced by a charitable organisation would be something they would be happy to pay for to receive it.

One of the major contributions of the present study is that the modified questionnaire contained specifically constructed questions to measure responses to stalking. The expanded questionnaire comprised 144 items, in addition to the M-C (20), thus yielding a total of 164 items (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire was divided into seven sections, comprising: 'About you'; 'About the Stalker'; 'About the stalking'; 'Responses from others'; 'Your responses to stalking'; 'The effects of stalking'; and, finally, 'Your advice and recommendations'. The modified instrument enlarged the number of items found in Section Seven of the original instrument— 'Your responses to stalking' — so that the section grew from 15 to 84 items. These additional items were developed for the purpose of answering the research questions central to this doctrinal research. The newly created section asked participants about their responses to stalking (e.g., did you change your e-mail address?), the delay between becoming aware of the stalking and employing the response, as well as how helpful the response was in stopping the stalking. The new items exploring various responses to stalking were derived from a review of existing stalking literature relating to stalking responses. Outlined below are details of the separate sections and, where appropriate, tables of examples of questionnaire items contained within them.

About you (three items). This section asked respondents to provide three items of basic information, namely their year of birth, occupation and marital status.

About the stalker (eight items). This section was included to solicit a combination of basic and detailed information about the stalker. Respondents were reminded to provide answers that related to their most recent instance of stalking. It was explained that, understandably, some information may be unknown, for example, a stalker's occupation, year of birth or marital status.

About the stalking (29 Items). Respondents were asked to provide information about their previous perceptions of stalking (e.g., Questionnaire item 14: Were you aware of what stalking was before you became a victim? and Questionnaire item 15: What was your perception of stalking before you became a victim?). For this section, questions became more detailed as respondents progressed. This section also included newly developed items to measure for stalking duration and the timing of victim responses. For example, questionnaire items required respondents to provide the date of first becoming aware of the stalking (month/year) (Questionnaire item 17), and, if different, when the stalking began (Questionnaire item 18). It was expected that the stalking experience may have been continuing for a longer duration than the respondent was aware. Respondents were also asked about the first, last and worst experiences of stalking (e.g., being assaulted, sent text messages, being followed). As a comprehensive section, other items measured, for example, the frequency of being contacted by the stalker and whether others had helped the stalker. Examples of the constitution for this questionnaire section can be seen below.

Table 3: Examples of questionnaire items contained in Section Three, 'About the stalking', which were developed to capture data on the duration and timing of the stalking episode.

Item Number	Question
17	In relation to your most recent experience, when did you first become aware of the stalking? (month/year)
19	What was the first incident that made you aware you were being stalked? (e.g., being followed, sent text messages, received note, etc.)
21	Are you still being stalked?
23	Please state how long the stalking continued/has continued for (in weeks/months/years)
29	Towards the beginning of the stalking, how often did the stalker contact you?

Responses from others (six items). This section was designed to measure how far a respondent's experience of stalking had progressed, that is, whether it had been reported to police, proceeded to or been finalised in court, or had not been reported at all. Items also measured for media involvement in a respondent's case and, if so, whether it helped to stop the stalking.

Your responses to stalking (84 items). As one of the most important sections of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate whether they had engaged in one or more of 23 specifically constructed responses to stalking (e.g., Did you keep a diary or log of the stalker's actions? Did you change your social habits? Did you ignore the stalker? Did you physically assault the stalker?). Of these 23 responses to stalking, three were taken directly from the Sheridan and Blaauw survey, in particular, the following questions: 'Do/did you keep a diary or log of the stalker's actions?'; 'Do/did you hold on to any evidence left by your stalker? (e.g., letters, answerphone tapes, phone records, items sent by the stalker)'; and 'Do/did you try to get evidence of your stalker in action? (e.g., by taking photos of him or her outside your house?)'. One response item from the Sheridan and Blaauw instrument was excluded, namely, 'Do/did you have a safety plan? (e.g., a safe place to go and a bag ready packed if the stalker's

actions increased)', as this question was determined as incapable of being used to measure any effect on the duration and/or intensity of stalking.

If a respondent indicated that they had engaged in one of these 23 responses, then contingency questions (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009) asked them to provide the date (day/month/year) that they began to do this, as well as to indicate how helpful the response was (e.g., helpful, no difference, unhelpful). Overall, a combination of open- and closed-ended questions was used throughout this section and items could be 'skipped' by respondents in circumstances where the question did not apply to their experience (e.g., they did not change their email address). In the latter half of this section, additional questions required respondents to indicate whether others (i.e., friends, family or relatives) had responded to the stalker. Three important items that were taken directly from the instrument of Sheridan and Blaauw were: 'Did you respond to the perpetrator at all?'; 'If you did respond to the stalker, at what point did this happen?' and 'If you did respond to the stalker, do you think this helped or made things worse?' A key item asked respondents to identify any coping mechanisms they undertook (e.g., had less contact with friends or family, went to see a counsellor or psychologist, or took prescription medicines) and then to rate how helpful these were.

Table 4: Examples of newly developed questionnaire items in Section Five — Your responses to stalking.

Item Number	Question
55	Did you personally inform the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted?
56	If yes, how did you inform them of this? (e.g., face-to-face, phone, text message, personal letter)
72	Did you change your e-mail address?
73	If yes, when did you start to do this? (month/year)
74	How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?
90	Did you inform your manager/boss at work that you were being stalked?
97	Did you move house as a result of the stalking?
103	Did you threaten the stalker?
118	Did you have a solicitor contact the stalker to inform them their behaviour was unwanted?
133	Did other people (but not official agencies such as the police) respond to the stalker on your behalf?
138	What methods do/did you use to cope with being stalked?

The effects of stalking (10 items). This section addressed the physical, emotional and financial effects of the stalking experience on the individual and those close to them. For example, respondents were asked how many days off work they took, and how much money they had lost as a result of moving to a new house or changing phone numbers.

Your advice and recommendations (four items). This final section was designed to solicit respondents' guidance on how to deal with stalking. Consisting largely of open-ended questions, respondents were asked, among other things, 'what advice would you give other victims?' and 'what, in your view, is the best way to stop a stalker?' A final part of the questionnaire titled 'Any further comments?' invited respondents to provide information or recommendations that they wished to stress and/or were not able to include in the main body of the survey.

Owing to the number of items in the questionnaire (164), it was identified that the survey may suffer from respondent attrition (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009). Respondents may have

decided that there was a substantial investment of effort and time to the study and subsequently discontinued the questionnaire. To overcome this, careful thought was given at the developmental stages of the research project to the structure and aesthetic design of the instrument. Every effort was made to ensure that the formatting of the questionnaire was presentable and user-friendly, and that sections remained 'uncluttered' (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009, p.177). For example, questionnaire items were assembled on different pages to avoid multiple items appearing in a single line or, indeed, on one page. This attempted to avoid confusing and/or overwhelming respondents, which is, ultimately, counterproductive (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009). Additionally, to control for the chief shortcoming of closed-ended questions — the structuring of appropriate, discrete selections for responses — the drafting of the questionnaire was guided by including all the possible responses that might be expected, as well as including a category labelled 'Other' for most closed-ended items (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009).

The study was aided by the capabilities of the online survey platform, Survey Monkey, as colour schemes enhanced its professional appearance, readability and navigability. Where possible, closed-ended questions and Likert scales were used. One of the features of the online-questionnaire was a 'progress bar', which showed respondents the percentage of the questionnaire that had been completed on each separate 'page' of items. Generally, respondents appeared to provide as much information as possible, as judged by the overwhelming detail provided by some respondents to open-ended questions about their stalking experiences. While some respondents withdrew from the questionnaire partway through and, indeed, some others, early on, those who answered more than 30 items almost invariably completed the

questionnaire in full. Those respondents who requested, via email, to complete a hard-copy of the questionnaire (*n*=2) received survey materials via the Australian postal service, including a self-addressed return envelope paid for by the university. Data from those hard-copy questionnaires were returned to the university and entered into the online-based survey. Few participants answered all of the questions to determine the duration of stalking, and so manual calculation was required.

Ethical Considerations and Approval

In 2012, the study received ethics approval from the Bond University Human Research Ethics Committee (See Appendix 3). Given the strong association between stalking victimisation and post-traumatic stress (Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003; Kraaij, Arensman, Garnefski & Kremers, 2007; Pathé, 2002), a key concern in the design of the study was the risk of exposing respondents to re-victimisation by requiring them to recall their experiences. To help reduce this possibility, the 'Take a Break' items (20) were distributed at intervals throughout the questionnaire, providing an opportunity for respondents to move away from recounting their victim experience. Secondly, details of the university's counselling services and 'Lifeline' crisis support services were provided, as well as a comprehensive list of contact details for victim-support services across Australia (see Appendix 3).

Analysis

The online-based survey generator provided a comprehensive feature to observe results once responses had been collected. This allowed for question summaries to be viewed, in addition

to data trends and individual responses. The analysis performed by the survey generator yielded some basic statistical results. All items from the questionnaire were coded and entered into a survey codebook (see Appendix 2). The survey data were exported from the online-based survey generator to a digital spreadsheet for further analysis. To answer the central research questions that form part of this thesis (i.e., whether some victim-initiated responses interact with the intensity and duration of being stalked and whether delay of particular victim-initiated responses affects the intensity and duration of stalking), durations for stalking and delay in employing one of the 23 specifically listed responses to stalking were dichotomised. As canvassed in Chapter Three of this thesis, the average duration of being stalked, based on several studies, ranges from 83 days to 7.71 years (Blaauw et al., 2002; Bjerregaard, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Kamphuis, Emmelkamp & Bartak, 2003; Meloy & Boyd, 2003; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Sheridan, Davies & Boon, 2001a; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). For the purposes of the present study, durations for stalking were dichotomised as those instances that went beyond 12-months and those that did not. A two week cut-off period for delay in employing a response was selected, as stalking that continues beyond this duration has been shown to predict a number of factors, including a greater risk of unwanted intrusions (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009).

Key survey data were then exported from the digital spreadsheet to Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) (Version 23) for analyses. Using SPSS, Pearson Chi-Square tests were performed to assess the following:

1) Differences in stalking duration between those respondents who employed the listed responses and those who did not;

2) Differences in stalking duration between those who responded within two weeks and those who responded after two weeks for all listed responses; and
3) Differences in subjectively perceived helpfulness of responses and delay in employing these methods.

Post hoc and Cramer's V Correlation Coefficients were performed to assess effect size of observed differences. The 23 listed responses were divided using an existing typology (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001), that is, 'moving against', 'moving away' 'moving outward', and moving inward'. More follows in Chapter Seven concerning the application of the typology.

Qualitative analysis was undertaken on several open-ended questions that formed part of the questionnaire. The purpose of the analysis was to explore the experiences of stalking victims and to illustrate both general trends and individual responses. To achieve this, a deductive approach was adopted, that is, the open-ended responses to individual questionnaire items were grouped together and then manually examined for similarities and differences. More follows in Chapter Eight concerning the responses to these questions.

Conclusion

This chapter canvassed the framework of the study that underpins this doctoral project and explored the process through which the study was designed and implemented. The following two chapters, Chapters Seven and Eight, present the findings from the research study.

Chapter Seven: Quantitative Data Results

Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapter on design and methodology, the main research questions for this project centre around 'what victims do' and 'when victims do it' in response to episodes of stalking. To that end an extensive survey instrument was constructed, partially drawing on the work of Sheridan and Blaauw (2004) to provide reliability of the items used, and to replicate the common elements of their study that match with the present one. In this way it may be possible to develop a repository of datasets based on the experiences of Australian participants that will assist in furthering our understanding of the offence of stalking, especially from a victim perspective. This chapter presents the quantitative results from the survey; noting that the open-ended questions included in the instrument are addressed in Chapter Eight that describes, analyses and discusses the qualitative data component of the project.

First this chapter provides an overview of the sample in terms of attrition from the initial pool of respondents, as well as presenting overall descriptive statistics of the profile of the individuals who responded to the survey. The remainder of the chapter is structured to align with the main sections of the questionnaire, as described in detail in Chapter Six. These sections move from questions about the stalker and the episode, through to the responses taken by the participants and others, and then toward an examination of the effects or consequences of the stalking offence. The quantitative data are generally presented as frequencies (numerals and percentages) in an attempt to deliver a comprehensive narrative about the findings; however,

Chi-Square Tests of Significance were performed on groups of variables and participants to interrogate similarities and differences across sub-sets of the data. In addition, the analysis is guided by the typology of coping tactics advanced by Spitzberg and Cupach (2001), namely, moving against, moving away, moving with, moving outward and, although to a much lesser extent, moving inward, as a mean of consolidating the variety of tactics that victims of stalking engage in. Thus, this typology is harnessed as a framework in the structuring of this chapter to aid the discussion of the responses taken by stalking victims.

Characteristics of Sample Participants

There was initially a total of 219 responses to the survey, with 217 submitted online plus two completed by hand on printed versions and returned in pre-paid envelopes. In the process of cleaning the dataset, it was observed that 73 respondents filled out only six questionnaire items, equating to just four per cent of the survey. Additionally, there were three survey responses whose value was questionable, that is, the answers were inappropriate or failed to match the question (e.g., when asked about their occupation, they replied 'Goose', or when asked their perception of stalking, they replied 'Moon Cake'). Together, these 76 responses were discarded, leaving a total of 143 responses. A further 31 participants progressed only to questionnaire item 32 (16 per cent of the survey). Those 31 responses were included in the descriptive statistics about the sample and about their stalking experience, covering sections one, two and three of the questionnaire ('About you', 'About the stalker' and 'About the stalking'), but then were excluded from the remaining sections and detailed analysis, giving a final sample total of 112 responses.

It is important to stress that participants to this survey were all self-reported or self-identified victims of stalking, and the questionnaire made clear that only those who had experienced being stalked at some stage in their lifetimes should complete the survey. In addition, they were asked to confirm being over the age of 18 years, identifying as female, and living in Australia. They were invited to provide information about their occupation in free-text boxes. Despite the existence of established classifications of occupations, such as the Australian Bureau of Statistics Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO), the use of this rule-based system was overly complex for the current study. A more general classification was used instead, namely: 'Student'; 'Professional'; 'Retail'; 'Service'; and 'Home Duties/Retired' ('HDR'). More than one-quarter (27 per cent) were students, with the greatest proportion (34 per cent) identifying as professionals (i.e., lecturer, journalist, public servant and women's refuge worker).

Table 5: Demographic characteristics of the sample.

	N=143	***%***
Age (years)		
M	38.2	
SD	15.2	
Occupation		
Student	38	27
Professional (anthropologist, journalist, nurse)	49	34
Home Duties, Retired, Unemployed	18	13
Marital Status		
Single	53	37
Living with partner/married	50	35
Divorced	25	17
Knows who their stalker is	125	87
Does not know who their stalker is	18	13
	(*N*=110)	
Duration of stalking episode (years)		
M	2.7	
SD	4.3	

The average age was 38 years, with a range of 75 years (from 19 to 94 years), meaning that nearly half of all respondents (49 per cent) were born after 1980. When asked about their marital status, about one-third indicated that they were single (37 per cent) and another third that they were living with a partner or married (35 per cent). With respect to their stalking experience, most knew the identity of their stalker (87 per cent), the episode of stalking had ended for almost half the participants (66 cases), while 26 respondents did not know if they were still being stalked. Based on analysis of further information provided by respondents, which included date ranges of stalking instances, the average duration of stalking (*n*=110) was 139 weeks (two years and eight months), with a minimum of one week, and a maximum of 25 years.

Descriptions of the Stalker and the Stalking

In the second section of the survey, a series of questions asked respondents (*N*=143) to nominate the broad demographic characteristics of their stalker. For the majority (87 per cent), the stalker was known to them, and 74 per cent of respondents indicated that their stalker was male. Using the same classification outlined above for respondent occupations ('Student'; 'Professional'; 'Retail'; 'Service'; and 'Home Duties/Retired'), the occupations of the stalkers were described as being 'Service' (18 per cent), 'Student' (15 per cent) and 'Professional' (14 per cent). Of those respondents who provided the stalker's year of birth (*n*=95), 28 indicated that their stalker was born in or before the year 1984 (i.e., aged 30 years or less). Of those stalkers living in Australia (*n*=114), the majority resided in Queensland (*n*=42), New South Wales (*n*=35) and Victoria (*n*=25). Respondents were asked whether, during the stalking, the stalker took illegal drugs or had an alcohol dependency. Over one-quarter of respondents

answered ‘Yes’ (27 per cent), while 29 per cent of respondents answered ‘No’, and 31 per cent indicated that they did not know.

Table 6: Characteristics of stalkers as described by respondents.

	***(N*=143)**	**%**
Male	106	74
Single	59	41
Living in Australia	114	80
Male, single and living in Australia	49	34
Known to victim	125	87

Turning to the third section of the questionnaire, which comprised 36 questions that focused on respondents’ views of the stalking incidents, 68 per cent were aware of what stalking was before they became a victim, and nearly half of all respondents (46 per cent) indicated that they ‘perceived it to be a severe harassment problem’. Over one-quarter of participants (27 per cent) identified stalking as something that ‘only deranged people did’. Nearly one-quarter of respondents (*n*=34) indicated that they had previously been stalked by someone else. A series of questions aimed at measuring the duration of stalking required respondents to provide dates (day/month/year) for when the stalking began and, if different, when they became aware that they were being stalked. Of those respondents who experienced a delay between being stalked and becoming aware of such (*n*=32), the mean duration of this delay was 66 weeks (one year and two months), with a spread of 694 weeks (13 years and three months). When those responses that experienced a delay of over 10 years (*n*=2) were excluded, the mean duration of delay between being stalked and being cognisant of the fact fell to 28 weeks (seven months).

When asked to identify the first incident that made them aware that they were being stalked, of those who responded (*n*=123), 46 per cent (*n*=56) reported electronic contact or calls, and 35 per cent (*n*=43) reported being followed or watched. Relatedly, when asked to nominate the

last (i.e., most recent) incident of stalking experienced, of those who responded (*n*=109), 35 per cent (*n*=39) reported electronic contact or calls, and 26 per cent (*n*=29) reported being followed or watched. For both questionnaire items requiring respondents to nominate the first and last incident of stalking, the proportion of respondents that were approached or threatened remained the same (10 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively).

At the time of completing the survey, the episode of stalking had ended in 66 cases, while 26 respondents did not know if they were still being stalked. The mean duration of stalking for those who had indicated the episode had ended or was continuing was 139 weeks (two years and eight months) (*n*=110). This average was determined based on data from those who had responded to questionnaire item 23 ('Please state how long the stalking continued/has continued for'), in addition to data obtained from those respondents who had provided start and end dates for their experience of being stalked, and those who provided a start date and indicated they were still being stalked. The minimum duration of stalking was one week, and the maximum duration was 25 years. As detailed in Table 7, 36 respondents declared that criminal justice responses (e.g., police warning, took legal action, conviction) were related to the cessation of the stalking. Another common instance to cause the stalking to end, as judged by respondents, included assistance from family and friends or warning the stalker off (12 per cent, *n*=8). Among those respondents who indicated an 'other' response to this item (*n*=15), comments included 'I think they ran out of money', 'Changed my phone number and blocked from all social media', and 'I moved a long distance away'.

Table 7: Responses of participants when asked how their instance of stalking ended.

	***N*=143**	**%**
Criminal justice response (e.g., police warning, conviction)	36	25
I was helped by friends/family	12	8
Stalker moved onto someone else	7	5
Don't know	18	6
Other responses (open ended)	15	10
Did not answer	55	38

Over one-quarter of respondents (*n*=37) first met their stalker through their place of work (i.e., as colleagues or through their organisation). Very few respondents first met their stalker online (*n*=11). Those respondents whose stalker was an ex-partner were asked to provide a duration of their relationship (in weeks/months/years). Of those who provided a duration (*n*=48), all respondents maintained a relationship of more than two months. One-third of relationships ended within a year (*n*=16), and another third lasted between two and five years. The average duration of an ex-partner relationship was 139 weeks (two years and eight months).

There was little difference between the average duration of stalking for those respondents who had been in a relationship with their stalker (i.e., ex-partner) (two years and eight months), and those respondents who were not previously in a relationship with their stalker was (two years and seven months). Of those ex-intimate respondents who provided a duration for the episode (*n*=48), 60 per cent were stalked for more than one year (*n*=29). In a separate questionnaire item measuring the presence of domestic violence during the relationship, 42 respondents (29 per cent) identified that they had experienced either physical and/or emotional violence at the hands of their stalker. In 38 per cent of all cases (*N*=143) it was rejection of a partner or the breakdown of the relationship that was attributed as a trigger for the stalking to commence.

At the beginning of the stalking, nearly half of the participants claimed that they were contacted daily (*n*=64) and 69 per cent received contact at least weekly. Throughout the course of the stalking, more than one-quarter of respondents were contacted daily (*n*=38) and 62 per cent were contacted at least weekly. Respondents were exposed to myriad stalking behaviours, with nearly half (*n*=66) experiencing at least 10 methods of stalking, and one-quarter (*n*=35) at least five. The more frequent methods of stalking that were reported included: being followed (52 per cent); receiving unsolicited phone calls (48 per cent); being spied on (44 per cent); receiving unsolicited text messages (43 per cent); and being visited at work/school/university (37 per cent). Threats made by the stalker to physically assault the respondent occurred in 32 cases (22 per cent). Respondents were asked if the stalker harassed them via the Internet and, of those who responded to the questionnaire item (*n*=111), a majority (*n*=61) confirmed that this was true for them.

In an attempt to measure the level of fear that victims experienced, respondents were asked to indicate, using a four-point Likert scale (from 'Not at all' to 'Very'), how frightened their stalker made them feel while being stalked. A majority reported being very frightened (36 per cent) or somewhat frightened (31 per cent). Eleven per cent of respondents were either a little frightened or not at all frightened. When asked to nominate the most frightening (i.e., worst) incident of stalking that they experienced, the participants reported constant contact or intrusion (27 per cent), threats (of harm to self or others) (20 per cent) and hiding or experiencing a sense of being paralysed (19 per cent). Nearly one-third (*n*=42) feared, at some stage, that their stalker would physically harm them. While being stalked, more than one-fifth (22 per cent) of respondents indicated that their stalker threatened to kill or harm themselves.

Participants felt that their experiences were not taken seriously by others from the outset. Indeed, 45 respondents (31 per cent) were told that they were over-reacting or being paranoid, and 40 respondents (28 per cent) confessed that they did not want to go to the police for fear of being ignored and/or laughed at. Several respondents (*n*=26) identified with not being taken seriously by police, and an even greater number (*n*=37) indicated that their family or friends did not take them seriously. In 45 per cent of cases, the stalker harassed not just the respondent, but also their affiliates (i.e., friends, children, partner, neighbours or work colleagues). In most cases (57 per cent), the stalker tried to find information about the respondent from others (e.g., partner, friends or work colleagues), where 36 per cent indicated that their friends were approached by the stalker to obtain information.

Responses from Victims and Others

In this and the remaining sections drawn from the questionnaire the total number of respondents is 112, given that 31 responses were excluded as they had not answered the key items that directly relate to the research questions, as outlined above. Respondents (*N*=112) nominated the extent to which, if any, their stalking experience had proceeded through the legal/criminal justice system and media. One-half (*n*=56) reported that their matter had progressed through the criminal justice system (i.e., reported to police or proceeded/finalised in court), compared with 42 respondents who had not. Of those who reported that they had involved the criminal justice system (*n*=56), 21 respondents were stalked for less than 12 months, while 32 respondents were stalked for more than one year. Of those who had not involved the criminal justice system (*n*=42), 19 were stalked for less than 12 months, while 23 were stalked for more than one year.

Ten respondents had gone as far as seeking legal advice. Thirteen respondents had been involved in more than one prosecution relating to their stalker and five of these respondents were involved in more than three prosecutions. Eleven respondents indicated that their matter had not proceeded to court because the stalker was warned or cautioned by the police. A follow-up question asked respondents to comment on, if relevant, why the case did not proceed to court, and the responses are examined in Chapter Eight. Some indicated that the media had been involved in their case, but it had not assisted them.

The subsequent section of the questionnaire explored the strategies employed by respondents to manage and/or thwart their stalking experience. The 23 specifically constructed options (e.g., Did you keep a diary of/ignore/physically assault the stalker?) were subsequently classified into an existing typology of coping tactics for victims of stalking (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001), with responses distributed into: moving against (e.g., attacking, threatening or seeking legal action against the stalker); moving away (e.g., avoiding the stalker, installing home security measures); moving outward (e.g., seeking emotional support or advice, applying for a restraining order); and moving with (negotiating with or responding to the stalker or maintaining direct contact). Throughout this section and, indeed, the questionnaire, response rates to questionnaire items varied. As a result, while a definite number of respondents may have indicated that they employed a particular response (e.g., 68 respondents changed their legal name), it is the case that fewer respondents provided a date (i.e., the timing) that they employed the strategy. Because of these missing data, there is a degree of irregularity among the sample for stalking responses and any delay. To determine any delay in responses, manual

calculation was required as dates were entered by respondents. The frequency of responses, delay, perceived helpfulness and in duration of stalking are displayed below in Table 8.

Figure 5: Typology of coping tactics (drawn from Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001).

Table 8: Number of respondents who deployed a particular response, the delay in deploying the response and the perceived helpfulness, by duration of stalking (i.e., less or more than 12 months).

Move Against - Move Outward - Move Away	Total (*N*)	Stalking Duration < 12 months				Stalking Duration > 12 months			
		WITHIN TWO WEEKS		AFTER TWO WEEKS		WITHIN TWO WEEKS		AFTER TWO WEEKS	
		Helpful	Unhelpful	Helpful	Unhelpful	Helpful	Unhelpful	Helpful	Unhelpful
Informed stalker that behaviour unwanted	**87**	0	12	4	13	0	10	3	16
Informed the police	**53**	1	3	9	8	1	5	5	13
Threatened stalker	**18**	1	2	1	4	3	1	1	3
Assaulted stalker	**1**	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Solicitor contacted stalker	**9**	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1
Kept diary/evidence	**95**	3	10	3	5	5	13	4	20
Sought evidence	**27**	1	3	2	2	1	4	0	7
Informed a relative/friend/boss	**213**	12	30	9	20	0	28	10	41
Restraining order	**26**	1	0	4	1	1	0	6	9
Changed mobile/e-mail/mail/name	**76**	3	0	8	7	4	8	9	26
Changed online activity/social habits/travel routine	**188**	6	21	17	17	5	17	10	39
Moved house	**30**	0	1	6	1	0	1	5	10
Increased home security	**37**	1	2	4	4	0	2	5	10
Changed job	**17**	0	0	1	2	0	1	2	6
Ignored stalker	**80**	3	12	4	9	1	7	6	10

Moving Against

Nearly 80 per cent (*n*=87) personally informed the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted, with a majority doing so via digital contact and phone calls (*n*=38) or face-to-face (*n*=37). Twenty-two respondents told the stalker their behaviour was unwanted within two weeks, while 37 delayed beyond this period. When asked 'how helpful in stopping the stalking was this strategy', more respondents indicated that it was unhelpful (*n*=74) than helpful (*n*=10). There is nearly an equal division between respondents who reported their stalking experience to the police (*n*=53) and those who did not (*n*=51). Most of those who informed the police did so after two weeks (*n*=35). Thirty-five respondents found this strategy unhelpful, while 18 found it helpful.

Nine respondents had a solicitor contact the stalker to inform them that their behaviour was unwanted. Six of these respondents indicated that this strategy made no difference to the stalking behaviour. Three respondents found this strategy helpful in stopping the stalking. Eighteen respondents (16 per cent) threatened their stalker. Seven respondents employed this strategy within two weeks, while 10 did so after two weeks. Seven respondents found threatening their stalker to be helpful, while 10 found it unhelpful. Of those who threatened their stalker and provided a duration for stalking (*n*=16), half were stalked for less than 12 months.

Moving Outward

More than one-third (*n*=39) of respondents kept a diary or log of the stalker's actions. Of those who employed this strategy, 15 did so within two weeks, while 17 delayed beyond this period. Thirty-four respondents indicated that keeping a diary or log was unhelpful in stopping the

stalking compared with six who found it helpful. There were similar findings among those who held onto evidence left by the stalker (e.g., letters, answerphone messages, phone records, etc.). Fifty-six respondents employed this strategy and nearly half (*n*=25) later provided the evidence to the police or court service. Most of the respondents who held onto evidence of their stalker indicated that it was unhelpful in stopping the stalking (*n*=33), compared with 14 who found it to be helpful.

Nearly one-quarter of respondents (*n*=27) tried to seek evidence of the stalker in action (e.g., by taking photos of him or her outside the respondent's house). Among those who nominated the delay before employing this strategy, eight indicated that they did so within two weeks, while 12 delayed beyond this period. Twenty-one respondents found that this strategy was unhelpful in stopping the stalking. Eighty-five respondents informed a relative that they were being stalked and 60 of these found that it made no difference to stopping the stalking. There was a similar distribution for those who informed a friend (*n*=89) and found that it made no difference to being pursued (*n*=65). Relatively few informed their manager/boss at work that they were being stalked (*n*=34), and, once again, many of these (*n*=21) found that it was unhelpful in stopping their stalking experience. Few respondents applied for a restraining order, and those who did (*n*=26) tended to do delay the action. Among those who employed this strategy, 15 were stalked by an ex-partner. As to the perceived effectiveness of applying for a restraining order, respondents were divided about whether it was helpful or not.

Moving Away

Nearly two-thirds (64 per cent) of respondents did not change their home or mobile telephone number; for those who did, there was a tendency to delay this action beyond two weeks, and it

was not seen as helpful. Of those who changed their mobile number (*n*=31), 21 were stalked for more than one year. Similarly, 25 respondents changed their e-mail address, often after two weeks, but the strategy was perceived as unhelpful to their stalking experience. For those who altered their activity online (i.e., took Facebook down or blocked the stalker) (*n*=65), this response tended to occur later in the episode of stalking, with more claiming this strategy was perceived as unhelpful (*n*=37) than helpful (*n*=27). Most (*n*=74) changed their social habits (e.g., did not go to their local pub, tried a different coffee shop), generally after the two-week period but this did not seem to assist in thwarting the stalking episode. Of the 30 respondents who moved to a new house because of the stalking, 22 did so after two weeks, and there was divergence as to how helpful this coping tactic was in stopping the stalking.

Thirty-seven respondents indicated that they increased security at their place of residence (e.g., installed CCTV, extra lighting, or bought a dog), and of those who nominated any delay in employing the strategy (*n*=28), most indicated that they engaged this strategy after two weeks (*n*=23), but generally deemed it unhelpful in stopping the stalking. Fifteen respondents indicated that they had changed their mailing address (e.g., used a post office box number instead), but the level of missing data regarding the timing of this strategy means it is difficult to discern any patterns. Nearly half (*n*=49) changed their travel routine (e.g., took a different route or method to work), with 21 employing this after two weeks. Seventeen respondents changed their job, with most doing so after two weeks (*n*=11), but with little evidence for this tactic being helpful. Mostly, respondents ignored their stalker (*n*=80), often in the early stages, but generally it was not deemed helpful (*n*=60). Finally, 58 participants nominated other tactics such as: ‘Deferred university’; Didn’t leave the house’; ‘Never went anywhere alone’; ‘Took

self-defence classes, started carrying a whistle'; 'Dyed hair'; 'Told friends not to tell person information about me'; 'Got a male flat mate to move in with me and my young child'; and 'Didn't stay at home alone'.

Consequences of Victimisation

The questionnaire sought information about the effects of being stalked, including physical, emotional and financial. More than 70 per cent of respondents (*n*=80) experienced sleep disturbance, and the same figure experienced tiredness/weakness as a result of being stalked. Nearly half (*n*=55) experienced a change in their diet, and a similar figure suffered panic attacks (*n*=49). Less than ten participants reported self-harming, injuries inflicted by the stalker or needed to see their General Practitioner for physical injuries (e.g., broken bones, bruising). A greater number visited their doctor to address emotional effects (e.g., depression, anxiety, suicidal rumination) (*n*=40) or other physical effects (e.g., tiredness or eating disturbances) (*n*=29). Twenty-eight respondents were referred by their physician to receive counselling, but few were admitted or referred to hospital for the effects of stalking (*n*=6).

When asked to identify any emotional effects, a majority suffered anxiety (*n*=80), and a significant number reported increased distrust (*n*=73), anger (*n*=63) and depression (*n*=53). With respect to the social or financial consequences, a large proportion identified having to give up social activities (e.g., nights out, hobbies) (*n*=47), with a similar number reporting that their performance at work had been affected (*n*=44). Of those who took time off work (*n*=27), the average reported absence was 22 days, with a span of 364 days. Of those respondents who lost money as a result of their victimisation (e.g., losing their job, taking time off work,

possessions vandalised or the cost of attending counselling) (*n*=44), the average cost incurred was (AUD) $7,300, with a few participants having costs exceeding $10,000. Finally, respondents were asked whether during or after the stalking they experienced alarm due to activity that was not carried out by the stalker (e.g., contact from others). This item attempted to measure the frequency of hypersensitivity caused by being stalked. Of those who responded to this item (*n*=94), more than half reported experiencing feeling more sensitive (*n*=51).

In the final section of the survey respondents were asked for their opinions, advice and recommendations as to best practice in stopping the stalker. Nearly one-quarter of participants (*n*=27) indicated that the stalking ends when the stalker decides to stop pursuing them, with nearly the same figure indicating that it never stops (*n*=25). Only five respondents thought that stalking ended when the stalker is punished by the legal authorities. An open-ended question asked respondents what advice they would give to victims of stalking. Of those who responded (*n*=97), almost half advocated seeking help from third parties (i.e., legal, police, support workers, friends and family). Additionally, respondents were asked what agencies should do to help victims of stalking. Of those who provided a response (*n*=71), suggestions included the following: take victims seriously and/or believe them; provide emotional support and counselling; and improve access to information and advice. The final item asked respondents to nominate, in their view, the best way to stop a stalker to which there were 79 responses. The most frequent suggestion was legal intervention by police, followed by ignoring the stalker.

Responses, Delay and Duration

Having provided an overview of the basic parameters of the sample who responded to this survey, plus the aggregate answers to the items contained in the various sections of the questionnaire, the following examines the main variables that relate to the research questions posed in this study. These have to do with the response options that victims of stalking engage in, the timing or delay factor that is indicated by when they took such action, and then what impact such interventions might have had on the duration of the entire episode of stalking. This is the focus on the remainder of this chapter, before concluding with the statistical comparisons undertaken and a summary of the main findings.

Table 9: Victim responses (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) by the duration of stalking (<12 months, >12 months).

	< 12 months (*n*=48) *M*	**>12 months (*n*=61) *M***
Total responses	7.1	9.4
Moving Against (Total)	1.3	1.6
Within two weeks	0.4	0.4
Two weeks or more	0.9	0.7
Moving Away (Total)	3.0	4.3
Within two weeks	1.0	0.7
Two weeks or more	1.6	2.3
Moving Outward (Total)	2.8	3.5
Within two weeks	1.2	0.9
Two weeks or more	1.0	1.6

The mean number of responses engaged in by all respondents (*N*=112) was 8.3. Overall, 'moving away' responses were the most frequent (*M*=3.7), followed by 'moving outward' responses (3.2) and 'moving against' (1.5). Participants who were pursued for longer than 12 months (*n*=61), had engaged in slightly more responses (*M*=9.4) than those who were stalked for less than 12 months (*n*=48) (*M*=7). Those stalked for longer than 12 months employed, on average, more moving away responses after two weeks (*M*=2.3) than those stalked for less than

one year (*M*=0.9). Those stalked for longer than 12 months employed, on average (*M*), more 'moving away' and 'moving outward' responses (see Figure 6 and Table 9).

The finding that those stalked for longer had engaged, on average, in a greater number of responses became more pronounced after respondents were further categorised by duration of stalking (see Table 10). Of those stalked for less than one month, the mean number of responses employed by respondents was 5.3. Of those stalked for more than one month but less than 12 months, the mean number of responses was 7.2. Those stalked for more than 12 months but less than 60 months engaged in, on average 9.1 responses. Those stalked for more than five years employed the greatest number of responses (*M*=10).

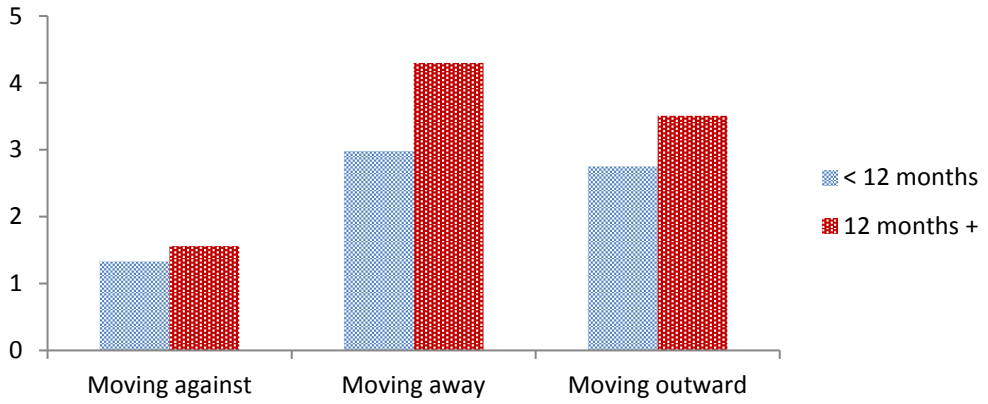

Figure 6: Average (*M*) number of response types (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) by the duration of stalking.

For those stalked for less than one month (*n*=4) more respondents, on average (*M*), moved outward (*M*=2.8) and/or away (*M*=2.0). On average (*M*), more respondents in this group tended to move outward or away much earlier than those stalked for a longer duration, albeit these numbers are low. For those stalked for more than one month, but less than 12 months,

participants tended to nominate 'moving away' options. Among this group (*n*=44), 17 were ex-partners. Of note, more respondents in this group moved against the stalker than those stalked for less than one month. For those stalked for more than one year but less than five years, more respondents, moved away and did so after two weeks. Of these respondents (*n*=46), 20 were ex-partners, and there was a pattern of 'moving outward' after two weeks. Among those stalked for more than five years (*n*=15), more respondents moved away and did so after two weeks, but few moved against the stalker within two weeks (*M*=0.3) (see Table 10), noting that only nine were ex-partners.

Table 10: Mean responses by the duration of stalking (<1 month, 1-12 months, 12-60 months, >60 months).

	< 1 month (*n*=4) *M*	1 – < 12 months (*n*=44) *M*	12 – 60 months (*n*=46) *M*	> 60 months (*n*=15) *M*
Total responses	5.3	7.2	9.1	10.1
Moving Against (Total)	0.5	1.4	1.5	1.6
Within two weeks	0.25	0.4	0.4	0.3
Two weeks or more	0.25	0.9	0.7	0.8
Moving Away (Total)	2.0	3.1	4.2	4.6
Within two weeks	1.5	1.0	0.7	0.5
Two weeks or more	0.5	1.8	2.2	2.5
Moving Outward (Total)	2.8	2.8	3.4	3.9
Within two weeks	2.8	1.0	0.8	1.2
Two weeks or more	0.0	1.1	1.7	1.3

Three particular responses were focused on by duration of stalking: personally informing the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted ('moving against'); ignoring the stalker ('moving away'); and applying for a restraining order ('moving outward') (see Table 11). Those stalked for more than one month, but less than 12 months, tended to, within two weeks, personally inform their stalker that their behaviour was unwanted. The same was reported for those stalked for more than 12 but less than 60 months. Overall, those stalked for less than 12 months who ignored their stalker did so earlier than those who were stalked for a longer duration. Those

stalked for longer were more likely to apply for a restraining order and, almost invariably, they tended to do so at a later stage. Figure 7 illustrates the average delay for all responses by duration of stalking. It shows that of those stalked for less than one month (*n*=4) or less than one year (*n*=44), more respondents acted sooner to the stalking by employing one of the victim coping tactics (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001), than those stalked for more than one year but less than five years (*n*=46) and, indeed, for more than five years (*n*=15).

Table 11: Victim responses by the duration of stalking for personally informing the stalker that their behaviour is unwanted, ignoring the stalker, and applying for a restraining order.

	< 1 month (*n*=4)	1 –< 12 months (*n*=44)	12 – 60 months (*n*=46)	> 60 months (*n*=15)
	N (%)	*N (%)*	*N (%)*	*N (%)*
Personally inform that behaviour is unwanted (Total)	1 (25)	32 (73)	32 (70)	10 (66)
Within two weeks	0 (0)	11 (25)	9 (20)	1 (6.6)
Two weeks or more	1 (25)	16 (36)	12 (26)	6 (40)
Ignore the stalker (Total)	1 (25)	33	34	10 (66)
Within two weeks	1 (25)	15 (34)	7 (15)	1 (7)
Two weeks or more	0 (0)	13 (30)	13 (28)	3 (20)
Restraining order (Total)	0 (0)	9 (20)	13 (28)	6 (40)
Within two weeks	0 (0)	1 (2)	1 (2)	1 (7)
Two weeks or more	0 (0)	6 (14)	11 (24)	3 (20)

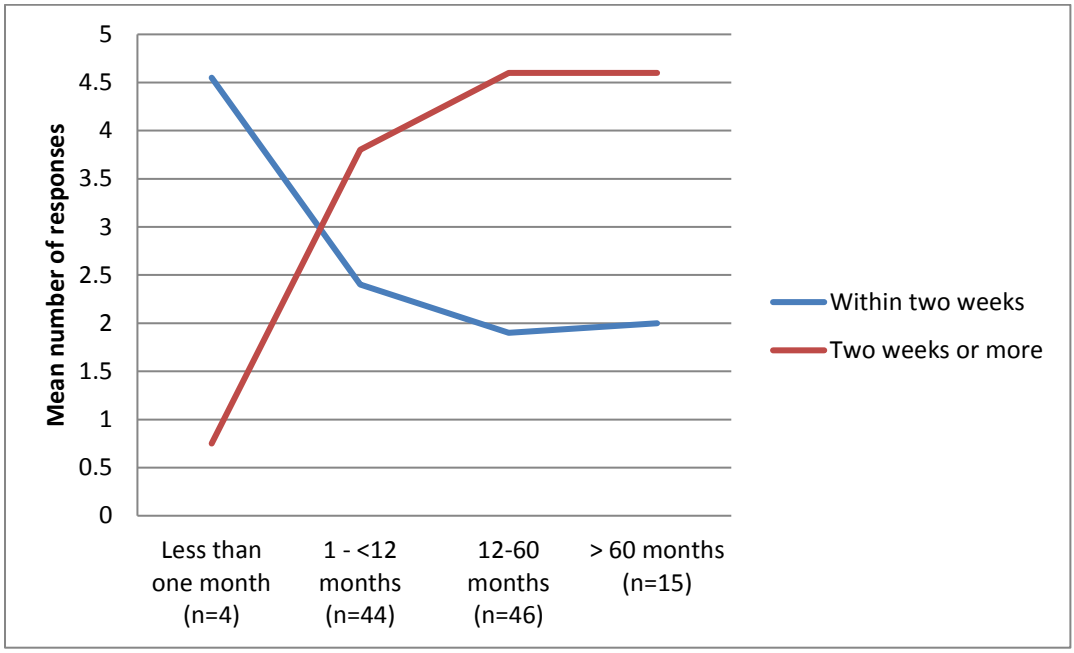

Figure 7: Average timing of victim responses by the duration of stalking.

When asked whether they had responded at all, 79 respondents indicated that they did. Of these, a majority asked the stalker to leave them alone (*n*=49), and 85 respondents provided the stage at which they did this. Participants nominated one of three options: 'at the start of the stalking' (*n*=41); 'after several incidents' (*n*=22); and 'after many incidents' (*n*=22). They indicated whether this 'helped', 'made things worse', 'had no effect' or they could choose to identify that they were 'unsure'. Of those who responded to the stalker at the start (*n*=41), most respondents found that it made things worse (*n*=23) (see Figure 8). Of those who responded to the stalker at the start of the stalking (*n*=41), 24 were stalked for less than 12 months and 13 were stalked for a duration of more than one year. Of those who responded after several incidents (*n*=22), nine were stalked for less than 12 months and 12 were stalked for more than one year. Among those who responded to the stalker after many incidents (*n*=22), six were stalked for less than 12 months and 15 were stalked for more than one year. When the perceived

helpfulness of responding was dichotomised as 'Helpful' and 'Unhelpful', it was seen that among those who responded at the start of the stalking (*n*=41), three found it helpful and 31 found it unhelpful in stopping the stalking. For those who responded after several incidents (*n*=22), 18 found it unhelpful, and of those who responded after many incidents (*n*=22), 15 found it unhelpful (see Figure 8).

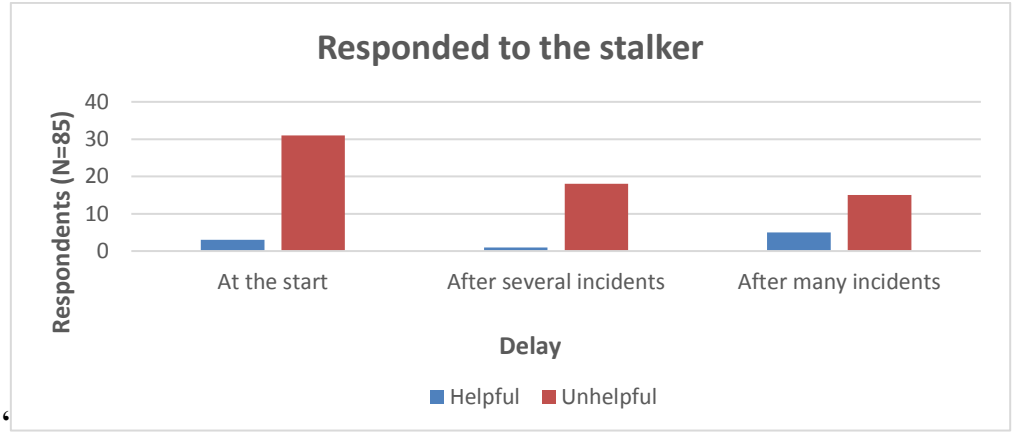

Figure 8: Timing of the response strategy and perceived utility in helping to stop the stalking.

Participants nominated the most helpful response that they took, with 23 indicating that seeking professional help (e.g., police, legal, support workers) was most helpful. Other common responses included changing lifestyle (*n*=13), ignoring the stalker (*n*=13), and confronting the stalker (*n*=11). Respondents were also asked the following question: 'If you waited to take positive steps to stop the stalker (e.g., didn't inform the police/tell friends/get an injunction), was there any reason for the delay?' Responses were open-ended and of those who attended to this item (*n*=73), the most commonly reported reason was that respondents 'weren't sure if it was criminal' (*n*=18). Other common responses included 'Felt bad for him/I felt guilty' (*n*=10), 'Didn't want to make things worse' (*n*=10), and 'I thought it would go away' (*n*=9).

Of note is that in 52 cases, people other than official agencies (e.g., police) responded to the stalker on the respondent's behalf. Most of these people were family members or friends (*n*=44). There was variance as to the efficacy of this strategy: 22 indicated that it helped to stop the stalking, 12 reported that it made things worse, and 23 reported that it had no effect.

Table 12: Coping behaviours among respondents (*N*=112).

	(*N*=112)	Helpful
Had more contact with friends or family	63	45
Had less contact with friends or family	20	5
Drank more alcohol	29	7
Took prescription medicines	16	9
Tried complimentary/alternative therapies	8	5
Took recreational drugs	9	5
Didn't go out as much	52	10
Changed my routine	54	19
Carried a weapon	6	6
Received counselling	33	16
Other coping strategies	18	8

The survey explored other methods used in response to being stalked. Among these reactions were behaviours including using alcohol and or drugs or carrying a weapon. Those coping methods reported more frequently included having more contact with friends or family (*n*=63), changing their routine (*n*=54), not going out as much (*n*=52), and receiving counselling (*n*=33). Table 11 shows the perceived effectiveness among respondents of the coping methods that they employed. Those who employed avoidant behaviours such as not going out (*n*=52) and changing their routine (*n*=54) did not commonly report that these were helpful (*n*=10 and 19, respectively). Similarly, of those who had less contact with their family and friends (*n*=20), one-quarter found it to be helpful. Of those few who carried a weapon (*n*=6), all of them

deemed it helpful. Those who turned to family and friends (n=63) were often met with a positive outcome, with over 70 per cent indicating that it was helpful.

Statistical Analyses

In addition to reporting the descriptive statistics about the response options taken by participants, the time delay in instigating any action, and the resultant impact on the duration of the stalking episode, tests of significance were undertaken. To that end, Chi-Square analysis was conducted on sets of the variables that related to the dependent variable, namely duration of the stalking episode. Clearly there are limitations to the analytic techniques that could be employed on these data because of missing responses for some participants and the need to manually calculate the constructed 'delay' and 'duration' recoded variables. However, given this forms part of the central research question, that is, *what did respondents do?* and *when did they do it?* it was imperative to attempt to engage in a comparison of the outcomes of the various strategies adopted by the participants. The results of these sets of between-group comparisons are outlined below, but the limitations and contextualisation of such findings are canvassed in detail in Chapter Nine.

First, a statistically significant difference in stalking duration was observed between those respondents who moved to a new house and those who did not (Pearson's Chi Square=6.96, p=0.031). The observed effect size of this difference was Cramer's V=0.249, p=0.031. There was an observed difference for stalking duration in those who changed their email address (Pearson's Chi Square=5.17, p=0.075, Cramer's V=0.215) and those who changed their mobile phone number (Pearson's Chi Square=4.49, p=0.085, Cramer's V=0.152), however, these were

not significant at the .05 level. No significant differences in stalking duration were observed for those who personally informed the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted (p=0.53), informed police (p=0.47), threatened the stalker (p=0.76), informed a solicitor (p=0.83), kept a diary of the stalking (p=0.24), kept evidence of the stalking (p=0.39), sought evidence (p=0.62), informed a relative (p=0.13), informed a friend (p=0.69), informed their boss (p=0.91), sought a restraining order (p=0.27), changed their online activity (p=0.11), changed their social activity (p=0.68), and employed new security measures at their home (p=0.34) and those who did not. There was no significant difference in stalking duration for those who sought a response from the criminal justice system and those who did not (p=0.94) and those who had been in a relationship with the stalker and those who had not (p=0.40).

The second set of comparative analysis across groups within the dataset involved the key variable about the delay in responding to the stalking episode and the impact that this might have on the duration of the offending behaviours. As has been noted in Chapter Six, but also discussed in the earlier chapters, some of the research and the practical literature on stalking tends to focus on immediate action being important to the cessation of the offending. Of course, there is considerable debate about what constitutes an 'immediate' response, but in the present study this has been operationalized as within two weeks. Thus, an early response (i.e., within two weeks) was associated with a shorter duration of stalking (i.e., less than one year) for the following response options: personally informing the stalker (Pearson Chi Square=9.5, p=0.05, Cramer's V=0.30); informing the police (Pearson Chi Square=9.72, p=0.045, Phi Coefficient=0.43, Cramer's V Coefficient=0.30); and informing a boss (Pearson Chi Square=16.6, p=0.002, Phi Coefficient=0.66, Cramer's V Coefficient=0.47). There were no

significant differences in stalking duration for those who: threatened the stalker (p=0.61), informed a solicitor (p=0.14), kept a diary (p=0.48), kept evidence (p=0.63), sought evidence (p=0.72), informed a friend (p=0.41), sought a restraining order (p=0.21), changed their mobile (p=0.68), changed their email (p=0.91), changed their online habits (p=0.45), changed their social habits (p=0.13) when delay (within or after two weeks) was considered.

The next step in teasing out the impact of the delay in responding examined whether the response options were perceived as helpfulness or not. The only two actions that yielded a significant difference included: informing a solicitor (Pearson Chi Square=13.9, p=0.008, Phi Coefficient=0.50, Cramer's V=0.36), and informing a friend (Pearson Chi Square=6.8, p=0.034, Phi and Cramer's V Coefficient=0.274). Some other response options failed to reach the significance level of .05, such as: changing their email address (p=0.059, Phi Coefficient=0.541 and Cramer's V=0.382), changing their mobile (p=0.053), informing their boss (p=0.083, Phi Coefficient=0.467 and Cramer's V=0.33), and increasing security measures at home (Pearson Chi Square=8.1, p=0.089, Phi Coefficient=0.46, Cramer's V=0.326). There were no significant differences observed for all other methods such as: personally inform, p=0.10; inform police, p=0.37; threatening, p=0.26; keeping a diary, p=0.46; keeping evidence, p=0.39; seeking evidence, p=0.34; informing a relative, p=0.53; seeking a restraining order, p=0.34; changing online habits, p=0.63; changing social habits, p=0.32; and moving house, p=0.26.

Summary and Key Findings

This chapter has detailed the results from the online survey of stalking victims conducted as part of this doctoral research. It has presented the descriptive data contained within the seven sections of the questionnaire and identified the relationships between, among other things, the frequency and type of responses, the perceived effectiveness as judged by respondents, and, importantly, the duration of stalking. In the pursuit of exploring and mapping trends, the findings have been assisted by an existing typology of victim-coping tactics to stalking (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001). Some of the data reflect the more general questions included in the survey about the type of stalking episode, knowledge about the stalker, frequency and severity of incidents, and so on, as these assist in describing the type of offending captured within this sample of victims. However, the main aim of this study was to examine issues about responses (what victims did), the delay factor (when they took action) and the duration (whether there was an impact on the continuance or cessation of the stalking). Thus, some key statistical comparisons were carried out to assist in addressing the central research questions.

The key findings of the study are that firstly the sample of female victims had an average age of 38 years, most knew their stalker (87 per cent) and the duration of the episodes was two years and eight months. One quarter first met their stalker through their place of work but there was little difference between the duration of stalking for those who had been in a relationship with their stalker and those who had not, although 60 per cent of those stalked by an ex-partner were stalked for more than one year. In terms of the types of incidents reported, the participants mentioned the most frequent as being followed, receiving unsolicited phone calls or text messages, being spied on, and being visited at work/school/university, with 42 per cent

indicating that they were harassed online, and 45 per cent reporting that stalker harassed their affiliates (e.g., friends, family, or colleagues) as well. With respect to their reactions, the data suggest that they were proactive in that there was an average of 8.3 actions taken, with the most common being to personally inform the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted (*n*=87), informing a friend (*n*=90) or relative (*n*=85), and ignoring the stalker (*n*=80). For half of the sample (*n*=56) however, there was official action where the matter was reported to the police or was dealt with by the courts.

Importantly, a statistically significant difference in stalking duration was observed between those respondents who moved to a new house and those who did not. Responding early (i.e., within two-weeks) was associated with a shorter duration of stalking (i.e., less than one year) for personally informing the stalker, informing the police, and informing a boss. Significant differences were also observed in perceived helpfulness of responses when delay was considered as a variable for informing a solicitor and informing a friend. Those victims pursued for longer than 12 months engaged, in more responses on average when compared with those stalked for less than 12 months. In aligning the responses nominated by the present sample of stalking victims with the typology of Spitzberg and Cupach (2001) it was noted that the mean number of 'moving away' responses was greater than 'moving against' or 'moving outward' types. While the dataset contained a wealth of other information about these victims of stalking (such as details about the personal, emotional and financial consequences for them of their victimisation), the focus of this doctoral project is on the responses. Thus, it was instructive that when directly asked about the best way to thwart a stalker, 37 victims

recommended legal police intervention. More details about such recommendations from the participants are presented in Chapter Eight that explores the qualitative results of the survey.

Chapter Eight: Qualitative Data Results

Introduction

This chapter presents the qualitative results of the survey conducted as part of this research and focuses on the experiences and opinions of victims. This chapter both supplements and informs the quantitative survey results presented in Chapter Seven of this thesis. The questionnaire contained more than thirty-three items designed to elicit open-comments, spread throughout the seven sections of the survey. Some open-ended response sets were already coded into quantitative variables and are presented in Chapter Seven. For example, those relating to occupations or about how the victim first met their stalker (e.g., ex-partner, work colleague, s/he was a stranger, or met online)'. Some other open-ended questionnaire items sought to elicit data about the severity of the stalking or on the physical, emotional and financial consequences of being a victim of this offence type. While important, these are somewhat tangential to the remit of this study. In this chapter, therefore, the focus is on those items that relate to the main research aim of capturing detail about the response options taken, the delay in acting, and the resultant impact on the stalking duration.

Across the various open-ended questions there was a wide variation in the number of participants who responded and length of the responses that they provided. So, as the first phase of preparing these qualitative data was to examine each of the relevant questions and to discard any unrelated material, to group those where the data possessed similarities and to ignore those questions where few participants had proffered usable responses. In some cases, respondents had answered a different but related question within the field and so those responses were

transferred to a more appropriate category. Then a round of primary thematic coding was undertaken to summarise and capture the essence of what the participants were stating (Miles & Huberman, 1994). There were no apriori codes prepared for this round of qualitative data analysis, but it was a post-hoc coding process that endeavored to uncover what was present in the data (Tracy, 2013).

The chapter first presents the respondents' views concerning their awareness of being stalked and then explores their experience of being taken seriously by others (e.g., the police). Importantly, the chapter presents the comments provided by victims as to what they did in response to being stalked, and, indeed, for some, why they delayed in taking action. Later, comments provided by victims as to the effects of stalking are canvassed, showing clearly the harmful consequences of being a stalking victim. Finally, the chapter focuses on the advice and recommendations of victims, which enriches the thesis by further exploring a central question of this thesis: *what works* when being stalked?

Awareness Relates to Response, Delay and Duration

It is imperative to observe, as has been canvassed elsewhere, that the offence of stalking is often one where the victim may be unaware of their own victimisation, at least in the initial stages. Thus, there are feelings of 'being watched' and 'being followed', or unusual incidents such as 'receiving an anonymous gift after my grandmother died' or experiencing 'classical music only' being played during phone calls. Another theme is that of coincidence where 'the first signs were being bumped into many times a day by accident and her approaching me' or 'being on the same plane' on an interstate trip and 'making it look like it was a coincidence we were there at the same time'. Some victims were cognisant of something happening but could not tie it to potential stalking such as 'a

security light at the back of our home kept going on at night' in the absence of any direct evidence. These kinds of observations made by the participants offer important insights and are significant to understanding the type of response options victims may avail themselves of, but particularly, the timing or the delay in taking any particular course of action.

In other examples there is a tendency to ignore, disregard or fail to assess the behaviours. For instance, one respondent said, 'I didn't label it as stalking for almost a year after it started because I thought he was my friend so I made excuses for his behaviour. When I began to feel scared and "creeped out", that was the turning point when I knew he was stalking me'. Another participant said that 'I am now aware that he had been breaking into my home for months prior to me being aware of this activity. I now know he had me under surveillance for months prior to me being aware of it'. Therefore, in the temporal calculations between the onset of the stalking and the initial action by the victim there can be a hidden or unknown period of delay prior to recognition of the offending behaviour. Some victims confessed to being unaware of stalking, for example, one victim identified that she 'was unaware of the prevalence and criteria so to speak' even though she 'knew it was wrong'. The awareness can be latent or dormant for some time, such as there being a few 'weird messages that were inappropriate', and as a result did not 'really remember the exact date this all started'. Of course, this is not the case for all stalking victims, as many were directly threatened, visited, had their houses broken into, or, for example, were subjected to '64 phone calls over 3 to 4 hours'. For others there was already potentially criminal behaviour on the part of the stalker, such as sexual assault, rape and burglary. Clearly, an episode of stalking may have commenced some time before the realisation of the victim that it is occurring.

Similarly, it is not always possible for victims to know precisely when the episode of stalking has finally ceased. Some said, 'about four months ago', others implied that it could recur such as 'about four years ago, but it is now extremely rare' which implies that the victim is unaware about whether it has finally ceased or not. In the same vein, there are peaks and troughs across the course of the stalking where, for example, one woman said, 'I left Victoria to get away from him and he found me in Queensland' and one victim observed that:

> [the stalking] escalated over the months until finally in October he was pacing up and down the street where I live waiting for me to leave the house. I had to get my dad to go out and tell him to go away so I could leave to get to class. After this I threatened him with going to the police and stopped talking to him from this point onward. However I'm not sure when it stopped 100% as I would till see him around and have to take detours to make sure I could avoid him'.

Or, as was the case for one victim: 'He has breached the interim intervention order taken out by me twice in the last couple weeks but I have not heard from him for 6 days now'. There is also the use of third parties, for example, one victim when asked what the most recent incident of stalking was, explained: 'This is also difficult. I am aware they were stalking me online using their girlfriends' Facebook pages as the most recent' incident.

In the same way that it is difficult to decipher when an episode of stalking has formally commenced, at least as known to the victim, it is almost as problematic to determine when it has finally ceased. The participants were asked about the 'end' of the stalking and proffered some important observations. Some related it to the feeling of threat such as 'when the victim

no longer feels threatened' or 'when the stalker moves on and the psychological effects of the stalking have been dealt with'. Others suggested that the stalking experience is never really over because they are left with the legacy because 'as much as I try not to let it get to me it still does' or that the 'talking is done. It's over. The after-effects are still with me a year later' so that some victims still experienced the aftermath 'five years later' or that they still 'feel the mental effects'. Sometimes it is the constant fear: 'I'm always worried he'll reappear, now that I'm in a different workplace' and 'we still live in the same town and I feel fear every time I see him in a public place, I always leave as quickly as possible without (hopefully) drawing attention to myself'. Victims nevertheless expressed some optimism that there can be an end-point 'when the stalking stops and is gone completely from the victim's life'.

Responses by Others

Being taken seriously. Among responses to this questionnaire item, several victims took the opportunity to report that the stalking was taken seriously by others, in particular, the police. For other victims, the reasons varied as to why they were not taken seriously by others. For example, a victim stated that 'although police took it seriously, I was told by them that it had become a problem because I'd been "too nice to him" as I had politely replied to his first love letter'. A different victim felt that her ordeal was not taken seriously because of the stalker's respected status in society and credibility, stating that 'because he worked at the grammar school police thought he was extremely credible and took his lies and allegations seriously'. There was a recurring theme of victims feeling responsible or in fear of being blamed, for example, a victim reported being 'too scared to mention it because [she] was in a relationship with [the stalker] albeit an abusive one it was just part of the abuse'. Another stated that she

was ‘afraid of not being taken seriously or being blamed so [she] kept quiet’. Indeed, one victim stated that she ‘didn’t want to make a fuss’ and ‘thought [she] could handle it [herself].’

Criticism of police & justice system. Other comments demonstrated a frustration with the justice system, for example: ‘Police told me I couldn’t make a formal complaint unless he attacked me’; ‘Police said I was inviting the unwanted attention’; ‘Police refused to talk to witnesses and said I was being paranoid’; and ‘After he broke into my home and masturbated on my bed the police took it very seriously’. Further, one victim stated that she was told that she was ‘over-reacting by a chamber magistrate’.

For one victim, the worst part of being stalked was that ‘when [she] finally got the courage to go to the police, they didn’t do anything’. There were several victims who indicated that the reason their stalking experience did not proceed to court was a failing on the part of the Police. For example, one victim reported that ‘the police said that they have limited resources and more serious matters to attend to’, while another victim said that the ‘police were so rude and uncaring they did nothing over 25 times’. One victim stated that ‘the suspect was supposed to be warned by police but it did not happen’ and another explained that the ‘police [were] reluctant to do anything’. For one victim, her experience meant the following: ‘When I went to make a formal complaint, they literally said that text messages and phone calls weren’t enough and I didn’t have any physical evidence, so I walked out of the police station’.

The two vignettes below illustrate some of the problems with legal options to curb stalking:

> The laws feel a bit retrospective. He never did anything bad to me and it was like for any punishment to happen I had to wait for that to occur. He was in a psychiatric ward for a few weeks near where I lived but they moved him away because they were concerned about that. I don't think he's the type to harm me, just a bit deluded.

And:

> I've lost count of the DVOs by now. There have been approximately nine or ten including one that lasted two years and several temporary DVOs. I am attending court for the next one soon - all done privately. The police have never helped at all. I had to go to full hearings and be quizzed by my stalker on the witness stand. He was allowed to ask me about very personal things - even [about] anal sex.

Help from others. In the open-ended comments the participants identifed a wide range of people who assisted them by dealing with the stalker. These included family members extending to cousins and other relatives, friends, neighbours, bosses/superiors/supervisors at work, flatmates, partners/spouses, HREOC, and security managers. In a similar vein, it is instructive to observe that there is not always just a singular stalker and here the point is not about victims who have had more than one episode of stalking by a different stalker, it is that other people become involved (family members, friends, neighbours, work colleagues etc) so this relates to the kinds of response options that can be taken by victims. Clearly, they need to address the stalker in some kind of direct manner but the open-ended responses reinforced the notion that there can be third-party involvement. One said she was 'followed by a private investigator', another that 'his mother lent him her phone when I blocked his number' or that 'his friends reported my whereabouts to him'.

Responses to Stalking

One trend that emerged from open-ended questionnaire items exploring victim responses was that victims suggested a mixed-response strategy to curb the stalking. For example, victims nominated the following as helpful in stopping the stalker: 'blocking number and having brother come and stay with me', 'Giving no feedback at all plus the solicitor's letter, plus time', 'Ignoring and blocking them from viewing my online profiles', 'taking out an AVO [and] I asked my uncle to assist', and 'having the police give her a warning and confronting her one last time with my family and friends there'.

Several victims reported 'moving away' or 'moving house' as a helpful response to being stalked. It was also the case that several victims considered starving the stalker of attention as effective, for example, one victim stated 'I stopped responding. He wanted my attention ... when he couldn't get that he stopped'. Another detailed her strategy as follows:

> Not giving him what he wanted – ie my attention. I changed my number, had my mail directed to a secure mailbox, took different routes too/from work, parked in different spots, swapped clothes lines with my neighbour, borrowed a large (70kg) hunting dog. He stopped after about 6 months. In hindsight it seems utterly ridiculous that I had to rearrange my whole life – I would have liked the police to be more helpful.

For some victims, time was considered to be 'the greatest healer' while for other victims, it was the case that 'nothing helped'. One victim wrote 'There has been NO helpful response. He doesn't adhere to any legal sanctions it only makes things worse'. One victim found that

'refusing to give in to emotional blackmail' was helpful in stopping the stalking. For another victim, she stated that the most helpful thing was 'finally confronting him and pleading him to leave me alone. Before this I would run away from him as all of our interactions were on the street (we both lived and I worked on the same very busy inner-city street)'.

Delay in responding. There were several reasons as to why there was delay in taking positive steps to stop the stalker. For example, it was believed that the stalker's behaviour was not criminal or serious enough, that no one would believe the victim, that the Police are too busy, or that the stalking behaviour would stop by itself. There was a trend for victims to minimise or, at least, doubt the seriousness of, their ordeal. One victim stated that 'I thought I was being paranoid or that it wasn't really that bad. People told me I should take it as a compliment'. For other victims, they believed they were overreacting or were afraid of embarrassment or being blamed, for example, one victim stated that she 'felt guilty, felt ashamed, was afraid of being blamed for it all, thought I was being paranoid'.

The following vignette of one victim's ordeal captures the overwhelming guilt and shame experienced as part of being stalked. Further, it stands as a model example of how stalking behaviours can escalate quickly from initially bothersome to aggressive, controlling and threatening:

> It was a customer who used my customer service role and empathy to target and manipulate me. He told me he had a terminal illness and that he needed somebody to talk to and feeling sorry for him I agreed. I thought it would be a one-off incident, but he kept turning up during my shifts asking to see me after work. I would refuse and he would say something to make me

feel sorry for him and guilty. He told me he was very wealthy (which did not appear to be the case from his appearance or his car) and that he wanted to leave me a large sum of money. He talked about his family and how they wanted to meet me but never showed me their photos and they never came to see me or contact me. There were inconsistencies in his stories, particularly about his medical treatment but I didn't want to believe anybody could be so manipulative. He slowly started putting more and more pressure on me. He guilt tripped me into giving him my number so that I could be contacted if something happened but then used it to contact me daily with messages saying how much he loved me and how he looked forward to seeing me next. I was frightened but felt too ashamed and guilty to go get help. He began showing up after shifts without me telling him I was working. I wanted him to leave me alone and stopped replying to his messages. I even pretended to have another job. He continued to lay guilt on me. Eventually I cracked and told a friend from work who started walking me to my car whenever he was working with me, he encouraged me to talk to the boss but I felt so guilty and ashamed and was afraid I would be blamed and criticised at work for it. The stalker was growing increasingly jealous and controlling. He would bring me presents that I would refuse to take. It was taking a serious toll on my mental health. One day at work he was waiting for me outside work and my supervisor came up to me and asked if I was comfortable with the customer showing up and waiting for me. I shook my head and she sent me to the tearoom to wait and would contact me when he had left. After five minutes she called me and said he had gone but that I should wait a bit longer just to be safe. She rang me again after another five minutes and told me he had come back and was looking incredibly agitated. By this point I was shaking and upset. My department manager came in and saw me and asked what was wrong and why I was still at work and I broke down and told her everything. She went to get the store manager who came

to see me and talk to me about what had happened. He escorted me out an alternative door to my car but we saw from the door that the stalker was waiting by my car. I was terrified. We waited until he went back inside the building and then the manager walked me to the car. The stalker tried calling me five times and then left a long passive aggressive text message that was supposed to make me feel guilty about not seeing him. I showed it to my boss. After that I was ensured that I would not be left on a register by myself anymore and that I would have the centre security take me to my car after I finished my shift. The stalker still tried to talk me and bombarded me with messages trying to get me to meet him, saying he was doing worse and didn't have much longer to go before he died. At this point the store manager approached the stalker and told him to leave me alone or that the police would be called. Following that incident the stalker didn't message me or come into the store again.

Other reasons for delay in responding were due to concerns that private matters would become public: 'I didn't want to make it public, thought this would anger him, thought I was being paranoid'. For several victims, there was little awareness about stalking or how they should respond, and, indeed, some were left disappointed by the Criminal Justice System:

> I had no idea of my rights at the time, was in shock, and on the occasions that did seek official help I was fobbed off and on one occasion was told that even telling the offender that I would seek a protection order could be viewed as a threat and thats why I did want to upset things further.

There was also fear among victims that by taking positive steps, the stalking would escalate, as one victim stated that she was 'afraid he'd kill me or retaliate in other ways'. Another victim

explained that she ‘knew it would make him more angry, violent, and escalate the behaviour. He was a sociopath as well so many people had no idea and wouldn’t believe that he would be such an unstable person’.

A prominent factor capable of affecting a victim’s decision to take steps to deter a stalker is their relationship context with the pursuer, for example, if the stalker and victim are friends, colleagues or ex-partners, rather than strangers. The relationship context may cause a victim to believe that their stalker is, as an example, merely having trouble adjusting to no longer being in a relationship with them and that their feelings will subside or, that their colleague or acquaintance is romantically interested in them and is just being more persistent than would ordinarily be considered appropriate. Relatedly, manipulative behaviours on the part of the stalker are common, for example: ‘because he was a friend and because he was able to make me think it was in my head, that I was being paranoid, I didn’t take it further’.

Online environment. There was a question specifically addressing online stalking, even though it should be emphasised that this study did not specifically focus on Internet stalking. This was revealing of the kinds of behaviours that are encountered in the digital sphere. Such as ‘I’ve since found out he has a trojan on my computer and can somehow tell when I’m online. He then appears in rooms I visit and either slanders me, sends threatening messages such as the most recent “war of attrition” comment or outright insults me to my face.’ Most participants referred to Facebook, Google Plus, Gmail, MySpace, Linked In, Twitter, Skype, MSN messenger, emails to friends and family members, being on online dating or professional websites or indeed ‘creating a website about me’ and other social media platforms such as

Tumblr or Instagram. Some reported instances of identity theft. One victim said that her stalker pretended 'to be someone else on Facebook to set up a meeting. I believed it was an old friend trying to get in touch'. Another participant described how the stalker 'created a fake account on RSVP.com. They used this to befriend me and get my photo. I had no idea what was happening until my photo was posted on their website and they boasted about what they had done. A challenge was then put out publicly for their fans to find out and publicise my name, address, child's school and employer details. They wanted to hunt me down in person.' Generally, the responses were about blocking and ignoring them or changing online accounts: 'I blocked him on Facebook, and he broke into someone else's account to spy on what I had been doing since we broke up'.

Effects of Stalking

It was not a main aim of this study to elicit information about the consequences of stalking. However, some questions were asked and it was instructive to learn that, in terms of the emotional effects, some victims detailed 'severe PTSD', or anxiety as a result of death threats. One other victim commented 'social anxiety. Scared to be out and about in my city'. Among the physical effects, a victim reported 'heart palpitations', another reported gastrointestinal problems and one other reported a muscle spasm in her neck which lasted for three days. The participants also made clear that the effects of being stalked were continuing. She stated 'I still feel anxious about this – e.g. when doing this survey. I still feel scared when I see her'. There was a trend for victims to be more guarded with the people that they interact with, for example, one victim explained that she suffered with a 'fear of re-partnering' while another stated 'It has seriously affected my ability to let people in and connect with me. I get scared if I see someone

that looks like him, I feel sick sometimes thinking about him so I mostly try to repress it'. There were other social consequences of being stalked, including being unable to enter a relationship while the stalking continued and changing daily routine or lifestyle. One victim explained that she 'deleted her online presence' as a result of being stalked. As to both social and financial consequences, there was a trend for victims to identify that others were affected by the stalking, in particular, close family members, and that their careers were restrained (including performance at school or university). For example, one victim explained that the stalking caused 'extraordinary stress on my husband, who worried he would be the victim of an attack; my level of stress had an impact on my ability to parent our infant child, fell terribly in my PhD; unable to promote myself professionally (eg, media, speaking at public events, having an online profile). Relatedly, others indicated that their performance at school deteriorated. One victim explained that she suffered 'loss of income' and 'left work many times because of depression'. For many victims it was the case that they were more likely to be distrustful or cautious of others, indeed, one victim explained that she was 'just worried about being friendly or nice and saying hi to certain people'.

Personal Advice and Recommendations

What advice would you give to victims? This questionnaire-item provided insight as to what victims of stalking would advise to those being stalked. Generally, victims advised keeping a record of every incident, taking legal action, seeking help from the police or others and not to 'give up' or develop a sense of blameworthiness. For example, one victim stated, 'keep evidence and go to the police – and don't feel embarrassed or silly for being scared'. Another victim encouraged others to 'keep pushing the police to act and get your own legal advice'.

Some victims identified an advantage in acting sooner rather than later, for example, they advised to ‘take action quickly, do not wait for weeks or months ...’ and ‘don’t wait to get help and move if it escalates’. One other cautioned ‘seek help earlier rather than later’ and another advised to ‘get on top of [the stalking] immediately’. Online stalking was singled-out as deserving a specific response, that is, ‘don’t feed the flames. Just disappear if it becomes scary. They will lose interest. Learn about the use of technology and protecting yourself is your responsibility.’

There was a trend for victims to caution against seeking help from the right people and being careful of whom to trust. Undoubtedly, a victim’s inability to trust in those around them would exacerbate a stalking episode. This distrust was, however, a legitimate protective strategy for some, as one victim identified that a ‘greater damage’ can come from family and friends who ‘don’t understand and can inadvertently give information to the stalker and thereby ‘feed’ the obsession’. Another advised: ‘Make sure you choose your confidants wisely. One of my friends (at the time, is no longer a friend) would come to me for details about the break up/relationship/stalking and then tell my stalker/ex boyfriend in order to rile him up for his own sick fun’. Despite these concerns, it remained that others looked to their close family and friends for support throughout their stalking experience and, unsurprisingly, they encouraged those who may be stalked to surround themselves with ‘people who love you’.

There was some divergence on whether a victim should respond at all to the stalker. For example, one victim advised the following: ‘only respond once to the stalker, to tell them their behaviour is wrong and that you won’t respond in future’ while others advised to ‘cut off communication’ and ‘Don’t engage’. Another victim wrote ‘ignore’ and another advised ‘Build

a wall without a door, because you'll only make it easier for them to walk in'. Another victim suggested the following: 'NEVER, EVER engage the stalker, i.e. never reply to emails or texts, or acknowledge them if you see them out and about. They MUST be ignored completely as any interaction with the victim is considered a 'success' by the stalker'. Notably, victims expressed considerable sympathy for those who may be subjected to being stalked by encouraging the following: 'don't suffer in silence, you're not alone', 'be braver than me to seek help to make it stop', 'don't worry about what you look/sound like to others, take your own person safety very seriously', 'be strong' and 'try not to let it over take your life'.

What, in your view, is the best way to stop a stalker? Victims were encouraged to reflect on their experience and consider the most effective response(s) to stalking. One victim stated 'ACT QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY. REMOVE YOURSELF FROM THE EQUATION AND LET THE AUTHORITIES TALK ON YOUR BEHALF. DON'T REACT OR THREATEN IN CASE IT ESCALATES MATTERS'. Others opted for a rehabilitative approach, such as 'identify the person causing it, have them attend mandatory courses in developing empathy and identifying/controlling manipulative and controlling behaviour'.

Several victims believed that legal or police intervention was the best way to stop a stalker and advocated incarceration and 'stronger laws so that police can intervene earlier'. One victim advised a wholistic approach to stalking, that is, a combination of penal sanction and rehabilitation in addition to education for young people: 'Victims need police and prosecutors to act. Stalkers need counselling. Education for young people about respectful relationships, healthy boundaries'. Some victims advocated moving away from the stalker, that is 'break contact/move away if possible' and 'vanish from their life without a trace'. Similarly, there

were calls to ‘not respond to them, even to tell them to go away, its attention seeking’. There remained anxiety over the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System, for example, one victim wrote ‘I’m not sure but one would hope Police would be, but these days I’m not so sure if justice is always carried out’. Once more, there were fears of escalation in stalking, for example, one victim advised that the best approach is ‘to confront them straight away, don’t let it escalate before informing them that their behaviour is not ok and don’t respond to them. To argue with them is exhausting as they refuse to hear your side’. Indeed, one victim reported that the best method is ‘being assertive but not making threats to the stalker’. Another respondent called for other stalking victims to ‘not take things into [their] own hands’ and to rely on those that ‘specialise in this particular field’.

Any Further Comments. Finally, respondents were invited to address anything else. Victims took the opportunity to supplement their chronicled experience and emphasise the importance of stalking as an issue. Some victims identified that their experience was, perhaps, not as severe as for others, but that the long-term effects were great, for example, one victim wrote ‘my case was “minor”, in the sense that I came to no physical harm or ever thought that I would, but it had a huge impact on me, so I can’t emphasise enough how serious this issue is for society’. Similarly, another wrote that ‘my incident was a long time ago and not as serious as some I’ve heard of. But it messed with my head for a long time ...’. Some victims highlighted that stalking and domestic violence are not ‘taken seriously enough’ or that AVO’s (restraining orders) are ineffective.

A key theme to emerge was that there may be scope for work places to do more to protect victims: one victim identified that there was a ‘problem with work places publishing profiles

on their websites without your permission. For example, I am a Lawyer and the stalker (my ex-partner) found out where I worked as my new employer had a profile of me on their website'. Victims also looked to society as a root cause of stalking, for example, the following was stated: 'educate people on just how little they're entitled to in this world. Stalkers have a huge sense of entitlement and I don't know who else to blame besides culture/society'. Some others reiterated the devastating consequences of being stalked and, despite their ordeal, remained hopeful for future victims, for example, one victim wrote 'It is something that is crippling and can be suppressed emotionally until a decade later if not dealt with at the time through psychologists etc'.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the results to several key open-ended questionnaire items which formed part of the survey. The qualitative data enhance the results presented in Chapter Seven and show that stalking is a complex offence that can constitute many and varied behaviours. The data illustrate the harmful consequences that victims of stalking can suffer. Further, this chapter has presented the opinions and advice of victims as to how to stop a stalker. The next chapter, Chapter Nine, concludes this thesis and discusses the findings of the study that forms part of this doctoral project.

Chapter Nine: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

The primary aim of this study was to advance current understandings of the relationship between victim responses and the duration and intensity of being stalked. The research inquiry focused on the responses taken by victims of stalking and measured the effectiveness of several listed responses. The research is frontier as it is the first empirical study to adopt a temporal approach to the examination of victim responses (i.e., it explored the delay in employing a strategy to stop the stalker and the effect of this delay on the duration of stalking). The present research is distinguishable from the library of stalking studies mentioned throughout this theses in several ways; in short, this research paid little attention to the behaviours of stalkers and, rather controversially, focused, instead, on the actions of victims. It explored the body of opinion concerned with the stages at which victim strategies are employed (Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000) and is concerned with identifying those responses that discourage victimisation (Bjorklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan & Roberts, 2010).

Consistent with observations made from recent findings, the results of this study found that no particular response is effective all of the time (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). To be sure, the results of this inquiry reinforce the notion that 'since stalking is not a uniform behaviour with any one consistent motive, there can be no single, effective strategy for stopping it' (Pathé, 2002, p.63). Notwithstanding, the present research found, among other things, that responding

early (i.e., within two weeks) by either personally informing the stalker that their behaviour is unwanted, informing the police or informing a boss is associated with a shorter duration of stalking.

This final chapter of the thesis discusses the key findings of the study. As part of this discussion, the theoretical perspectives introduced in Chapter Four of the thesis are applied to the results, in particular, Routine Activity Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), and Situation Crime Prevention (Clarke, 1980; 1985; 1997). From here, the implications are considered for stakeholders concerned in the prevention of stalking, that is, researchers, practitioners, law-makers, law-enforcement and, of course, victims of stalking. Later, the limitations of the present research are identified. The chapter concludes the thesis by identifying the types of studies to be conducted in future that will further improve our understanding of the complex offence known as stalking.

Victim Responses to Stalking

Echoing the findings of existing research (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2003; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998), the present study found that victims use a wide variety of methods to manage being pursued. Personally informing the stalker that their behaviour is unwanted was a common response among victims, with most delaying in doing so. Generally, respondents found that it was unhelpful in the pursuit of stopping the stalking. However, those victims who employed this strategy within two weeks of becoming aware that they were being stalked were more likely to be met with a shorter duration of stalking (i.e., less than one year).

It is difficult to quantify the impact of a particular communication on a stalker, and the task of assessing whether victims are sending a clear and unequivocal message is almost impenetrable (de Becker, 2002). There may be several reasons to explain why such a response may be perceived as — or, in fact, be — ineffective. Requesting that a stalker cease their conduct, aggressively or otherwise, may serve to reinforce the behaviour of a stalker (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Such a response communicates that the victim is antagonised or feels threatened — the pursuer's tactics are having a desired effect.

Responses to the present study showed that a number of those victims who waited to take positive steps to stop the stalker did so because they did not want to make things worse. Based on the comments of victims, there was some positive indicators of encouragment for personally informing the stalker that their behaviour is unwanted: 'confront them straight away, don't let it escalate before informing them that their behaviour is not ok' while others maintained a more conservative view, advising that others should not 'react or threaten in case it escalates matters'. To echo the words of psychiatrist, author and stalking victim, Doreen Orion (1997, p.163):

> In my anger, there had been many times I was tempted to confront [my stalker] directly and tell her to leave me alone, but I had intuitively resisted such a tack … Confronting or threatening one's stalker is never a good idea because any contact reinforces that stalking behaviour.

Responding assertively to a stalker may agitate the feelings of insecurity and low self-esteem of a — what may otherwise have been — 'incompetent suitor', that is, a somewhat

benign pursuer who fails to identify appropriate boundaries. A negative response from their target of interest, or rather, even the perception of one, may provoke a defensive response which may prove aggressive or threatening (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003). To be sure, the motivation of a stalker may suddenly alter from romantic to resentful, even vengeful, and the fluctuation between these emotions can be sustained for incredibly long durations (de Becker, 1998; Meloy, 1998; Mullen & Pathé, 1994a). Unescapably, despite findings showing that personally informing the stalker at an early stage that their behaviour is unwanted is more likely to be met with a shorter duration of stalking, respondents who employed this strategy reported that it was unhelpful. This suggest that, as outlined above, perhaps the behaviour of the stalker may intensify when met with an immediate confrontational or oppositional response from the victim, causing the victim to nominate the response as 'unhelpful'.

The zealous stalker — one ignorant to the pleas of their victim — may truly believe that their conduct is desired, suitable, warranted or, perhaps, the means to an end. It is conceivable that certain stalkers realise the gravity of their conduct, even accepting that it may be criminal, but maintain the belief that their fervent attempts to pursue another will ultimately be met with success. Indeed, previous research that explored the boundaries of courtship and stalking found that pursuers seldom identify rejection or discomfort from their love interest and, instead, construe responses as positive and evidence of reciprocation (Sinclair & Frieze, 2005). Applying Lerner's (1980) Just World hypothesis, it may be that victims who communicate their rejection to the advances of the stalker believe that they share responsibility for the behavioural fallout on the part of the pursuer, and, indeed, their own beleaguered state (Pathé, 2002; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2006). This notion that victims engage in blameworthiness, guilt and

shame is reinforced by some of the narratives provided in Chapter Eight of this thesis exploring reasons for delay in responding. This belief that the stalker is somehow justified may be more pronounced among those victims who respond with aggressive or threatening behaviours towards the stalker.

Informing the Police. Concerns inhibiting victims from reporting their experience to the police, as determined by previous research, include fear of reprisal from their stalker, a lack of confidence in being taken seriously by the police, and that reporting to police would be an erosion of privacy or dignity (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009). Early research identified that females are less likely to contact police when the offender is known (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Moreover, research suggests that those more likely to contact the police are victims who experience more serious cases of stalking (i.e., those who are threatened, assaulted or experience prolonged instances of stalking) (Baum et al., 2009; Bjerregaard, 2000; Brewster, 1998).

Encouragingly, the findings of the present research indicated that informing the police, when employed within two weeks, is associated with a shorter duration of stalking. Despite positive indicators that a greater proportion of respondents employed this response compared with previous studies (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997), still, relatively few victims informed the police of their stalking experience (n=53). In one evidence-based study, it was found that the most common reason for poor engagement with law-enforcement was that victims believed their situation did not warrant police attention (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009). The same was true for the present study, with victims more commonly indicating that they were not sure if the stalker's behaviour was criminal.

Concerningly, however, comments provided by victims of stalking in the present study showed discouraging levels of dissatisfaction with their interaction with the police, most notably with regard to being taken seriously and in them failing to take proactive steps to help the victim. Indeed, some victims feared being laughed at by the police. Strikingly, many victims of stalking recommended that other victims of stalking should seek help from the police, with several believing that this was the best way to stop a stalker. Findings from the present study align with research conducted nearly two decades ago (Brewster 1998) — a period when stalking was a relatively new offence — that of those respondents who informed the police, most reported that it was unhelpful. In the light of the findings of this study showing that contacting the police can be associated with a shorter duration of stalking, clearly, the effectiveness of this strategy is somewhat at odds with the perceived effectiveness as judge by victims who employ it. To be sure, contacting the police ought not to be considered the 'response of last resort' (Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Spitzberg, 2002a).

As expected, in most cases, those who informed the police did so after two weeks. Reasons for this are likely due to the same or similar explanations for not contacting the police at all. That is, at the early stages of being stalked, victims are not sure whether the conduct is criminal, or that they waited until they had a more substantiated case before contacting the police out of fear of not being believed or taken seriously. Conceivably, as previously canvassed, in some cases of stalking the intrusions are incremental and begin with romantic gestures (Dunn, 2001), with very little causing alarm at an early stage. Set against the finding that a significant proportion of those stalked were ex-intimates, this may explain the trend for victims to delay in employing this strategy (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

Very few inferences can be drawn from the current study in relation to the efficacy of threatening the stalker. Among those who employed this strategy, there was considerable divergence in the delay, perceived utility and effect on the duration of stalking. Recent research found that male stalkers are more likely to be deterred by threats and aggressive verbal confrontation compared to other methods of responding (Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Overall, this strategy, in addition to physically assaulting the stalker, may be perceived as irrefutably approaching a particular end on a spectrum of victim responses — those that are more aggressive or assertive. For similar reasons outlined above, acting aggressively toward a stalker may serve to escalate instances of stalking. There is the added complexity of the potential for a victim to engage in criminal conduct (i.e., common assault, threats) and subsequently attract criminal liability.

Keeping a diary of the stalker's actions may be considered more of a passive (i.e., surveillance) strategy, rather than one that is assertive (Mechanic, 2002). This, and similar responses, such as keeping evidence or a log, are methods that almost invariably serve to monitor the behaviour of the stalker in the hope that, in the near future, such evidence will form part of a complaint, application for injunctive relief, or criminal prosecution. In the current study, a majority of victims reported that this type of response was unhelpful in stopping the stalking. Such methods, however, ought not to be underestimated; maintaining a record or monitoring the stalker can assist a victim in bringing order to what is otherwise a very unpredictable experience (Pathé, 2002). These responses can instil a sense of agency over being stalked and it is submitted that being pro-active can, in the short term, militate against feelings of heightened anxiety, trauma and co-morbidity.

The same is true for informing a friend, relative or colleague about one's stalking experience. Indeed, informing a friend was one of the most common responses to being stalked among the sample in the present study (*n*=89; 79 per cent), followed closely by informing a relative (*n*=85; 76 per cent). This is despite previous research reporting that help-seeking behaviours and seeking assistance (i.e., from parents and friends) among female victims of stalking was at 'extremely low rates' (Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009, p.423). Although a discernible majority of respondents who employed one or more of these strategies found that it unhelpful in stopping the stalking, the ancillary benefits and outcomes associated with sharing one's experience and being met with support, encouragement or a sense of solidarity can serve to ameliorate the pernicious effects of being pursued.

Compared with informing others and friends, very few respondents informed their boss (*n*=34). This finding is noteworthy given that over one-quarter of respondents in the present study (*n*=37) first met their stalker through their place of work. Possible explanations for such a comparatively low engagement with this strategy may be that victims were not comfortable with informing their workplace manager (i.e., victims perceived a social stigma attached to victimisation (Bachman, 1994; Dunn, 2001)). There is also the fact that some victims may not have been employed at the time of being stalked, or they perceived their ordeal as having little to do with the workplace, or that their manager may not be capable of having any effect on their victimisation. This perception that work has little to do with being pursued may be more pronounced in instances of ex-intimate stalking. Some or, indeed, a combination of these may account for the low engagement with this strategy. Similarly, despite few victims identifying

this strategy as helpful, when employed within two weeks, it was associated with a shorter duration of stalking.

The effectiveness of a restraining order in stopping a stalker remains unclear (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). Despite extant research and discussion questioning their efficacy (de Becker, 1997; Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995; MacKenzie & James, 2011; MacKenzie, Mullen & Ogloff, 2006; Pathé, 2002), a clear trend appears to be emerging, namely, that victims of stalking seldom employ this strategy, but those who do find it helpful in stopping the stalker. It is unsurprising that those who employed this strategy did so at a late stage given the tendency for female victims of stalking to use informal methods before resorting to legal intervention (Brewster, 2001) and that, generally, victims in more serious cases resort to obtaining restraining orders (Baum et al., 2009). Although there was, among respondents, significant delay in employing this strategy, findings from the research conducted as part of this doctoral project indicate that this response is effective as judged by respondents — that is, of those participants who employed this strategy, a majority found it helpful in stopping the stalking.

Despite nearly half of respondents in the present study indicating that they experienced digital contact or calls, relatively few changed their mobile/telephone number (n=31) and a significant difference for stalking duration was observed for this response, that is, those who did so were more likely to be stalked for a longer duration. As such, it is expected that for many people, changing contact details is a last resort. For those victims who rely on their mobile phone for business or regular personal communication, disengaging this medium of contact can be difficult. Another explanation may be that, given some victims are drawn into trying to

manage their experience and put an end to the harassment, several may not change their mobile phone number so that they can continue to monitor the conduct of the stalker (de Becker, 1997). The level of inconvenience and cost associated with this strategy are not insignificant factors for consideration. Indeed, in the light of substantial growth in technology and reliance on electronic forms of personal communication, many victims may choose not to engage with this response because doing so would be emblematic of the stalker achieving their aim — to disrupt, intimidate, or otherwise have a deleterious effect.

The many and varied reasons for not changing a mobile phone number have equal application to responses that involve significant life-style changes (i.e., moving to a new house; changing e-mail address, mailing address, job, travel routine, name; altering online activity). The frequency of 'moving away' responses was not unexpected in the light of previous research. As previously canvassed, common victim responses across studies of stalking include: changing daily routine (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009), avoiding certain people or places (Budd & Mattinson, 2000), enlisting the help of family or friends (Baum et al., 2009; Haugaard & Seri, 2003), avoiding or attempting to avoid the pursuer (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2005), and ignoring or trying to ignore the pursuer (Brewster, 1998). Indeed, other research has determined that 'moving away' responses are effective in frustrating the stalker's attempt to pursue (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004).

Of note, at the more extreme end of a spectrum of 'moving away' responses, moving house (n=30) was more likely to be considered adaptive in stopping the stalker (i.e., helpful (n=15)), than unhelpful. This is consistent with earlier empirical research among stalking victims in the United States, which found that moving house was perceived to be the most effective response

(19 per cent) (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). This response, however, was more likely to be associated with a protracted instance of stalking. This is not unexpected in the light of the fact that those who move to a new house due to being stalked are invariably more likely to have been exposed to a persistent stalker. Why? Moving house is, perhaps, one of the most proactive responses to stalking and requires a great deal of effort on the part of the victim. Indeed, unsurprisingly, in the present study, those who employed this strategy tended to delay in doing so. This is likely given the cost and inconvenience associated with stalking. Given that instances of stalking often deteriorate (i.e., there is escalation on the part of the stalker with respect to approach or threatening behaviours) (US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1996), it may be that, among respondents, some more than others felt compelled to employ this strategy.

The financial cost of moving house or increasing residential security can be significant. Given that the average cost incurred as a result of being stalked among the sample of respondents in this survey was $7,300 (AUD), strategies such as increasing residential security require closer scrutiny. This is important given that findings from the present study indicated that most of those who increased security at their place of residence found that it was unhelpful. Too often, the economic toll of stalking is overlooked or, certainly, shadowed by the psychological and emotional effects of being pursued.

In line with existing research (Dutton & Winstead, 2011), overall, victims in the present study who ignored their stalker found this strategy unhelpful in stopping the stalker. It is submitted that the findings from the current study, in addition to those from previous research (Dutton & Winstead, 2011), are capable of being beneficial to the development of research

exploring this particular strategy. Ignoring a stalker ought to be afforded greater examination in the pursuit of carefully advising victims on adaptive responses to manage being stalked. The strategy is common among victims, with many doing so in the belief that they will eventually stop being pursued because the stalker will grow weary, 'get the message' or turn their attention elsewhere. While it has been identified among existing research that ignoring a stalker may lead to an escalation in frequency of pursuit behaviours (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003), several victims in the present study, as judged by their comments, advocated an immediate and irrevocable block on communicating with their stalker.

The immutable fact is that each instance of stalking is unique. One stalker will have a diverse effect on two victims, both of whom are likely to employ different strategies and, indeed, at different times, to manage their experience. The variables are endless. Each case deserves idiographic analysis before general trends can be applied in the hope of achieving an expected outcome: after all, there is no panacea for stalking. For example, very little exploration was conducted on the relationship between duration of stalking and 'moving inward' responses. Based on previous empirical research (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004), responses of this type are least effective as they do not focus on affecting the stalker's behaviour; instead, they are concerned with alleviating or managing the trauma associated with being stalked (Dutton & Winstead, 2011).

Factors Related to Duration and Intensity of Stalking

The findings of the frontier study conducted as part of this doctoral project contribute to an extant body of empirical research. In addition to supplementing the findings of existing

knowledge, the present study magnifies the relationship between the timing of victim responses and the duration of stalking. The average duration of stalking, in line with previous findings (Blaauw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan & Freeve, 2002; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), was two years and eight months, with a minimum duration of one week and maximum of 25 years. Consistent with existing, and indeed very recent, research (Johnson & Thompson, 2015; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), ex-partner stalkers were more likely to be moderately persistent. Those who moved to a new house were more likely to report a stalking duration of more than 12 months. An early response (i.e., within two weeks) was associated with a shorter duration of stalking (i.e., less than one year) for the following responses: personally informing the stalking that their behaviour was unwanted; informing the police; and informing a boss. Generally, (i.e., based on mean values) among the respondents in the present study, those stalked for more than one year were more likely to delay in responding compared to those stalked for a shorter duration.

Overall, and in concert with a large body of research (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998), those stalked for longer periods engaged in a greater number of different responses. Of note, the frequency of a particular victim response was not measured as part of the present study (e.g., how many times did you change your e-mail address?) and, indeed, is absent among other studies as well. The present findings show that in an attempt to manage their plight, victims resort to diversifying their methods of response. This was not unexpected as it has previously been identified across a variety of empirical studies that victims engage in an aggregate approach to responses — that is, victim response methods are invariably used in conjunction with others (Brewster, 1999; Budd &

Mattinson, 2000; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2000; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Fisher, et al., 2000; Haugaard & Seri, 2003; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001). This consistency among findings of various studies reinforces the commonly held contention that there is no single effective response to stalking.

Consistent with existing research (Dutton & Winstead, 2011), taking action against the stalker (specifically, informing the police, informing a boss or telling the stalker their behaviour is unwanted), is more likely to erode the stalker's behaviour. Findings from the present study showed that for some victim responses, it is better to take action sooner rather than later. That is, employing certain strategies within two weeks of becoming aware of the stalking appears to be met with a more positive outcome than delaying in responding beyond this time.

It is submitted that the timing of a crime-prevention strategy to stalking is important, indeed, just as important, as the strategy itself. Greater consideration ought to be afforded not only to what victims should do when faced with being stalked, but also the stage in the stalking experience that they are employing the response. In the pursuit of establishing a typology of victim responses, below (Figure 9) is a concept model that depicts the perceived relationship between the timing of responses and their efficacy. It is submitted that maladaptive responses to stalking are those that are employed after significant delay (e.g., obtaining a restraining order after two years). Conversely, the model shows an expectation that being stalked for a shorter duration is associated with taking action early in the stalking experience.

Victim Responses to Stalking: Time by Type		
	Timing of Response (*Temporal*)	
	Expeditious Response (*i.e.*, within two weeks)	Delayed Response (*i.e.*, beyond two weeks)
Victim Response (*Action*)		
Adaptive Response (*e.g.*, contacting law-enforcement)	**Optimal response — Positive effect on stalking victimisation (*Consequence*)**	**Sub-optimal response to stalking victimisation (*Consequence*)**
Maladaptive Response (*e.g.*, ignoring the stalker)	**Sub-optimal response to stalking victimisation (*Consequence*)**	**Least-optimal — Negative affect on stalking victimisation (*Consequence*)**

Figure 9: Concept model of victim responses drawn from the present research.

Implications for Theory and Practice

The findings from the present study have significant implications for criminological theory and practice. It is submitted that this doctoral research adds to a repository of criminological research that is underpinned by theoretical interpretations of crime. In particular, the present study applied Routine Activity Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) to determine whether victim strategies to being stalked can deter a motived offender and/or reducing the suitability of a chosen victim. Findings show that employing certain strategies right away is associated with a shorter duration of stalking. Generally, those who delayed in employing one or more of three tactics that comprise an existing typology of victim responses (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) were more likely to be stalked for a longer duration. In applying the framework of situational crime prevention (Clarke, 1980; 1997), these strategies associated with shorter durations of stalking tended to be those that: increased the risk for offenders to attract criminal sanction (i.e., attention from law-enforcement); and removed excuses for the stalker to pursue.

As canvassed above, in line with previous research (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998), those stalked for a longer duration engaged in a greater constellation of strategies to prevent their stalker's behaviour. Additionally, the study discovered that several victims maintained a perception that their experience was not sufficiently serious to warrant the intervention of the police, or that reporting their experience would be met by others with scepticism, apathy or judgement. Applying Rational Choice Perspective (Clarke & Cornish, 1985), it is submitted that these perceptions undoubtedly acted on the victim's decision to respond and affected the type of responses they engaged in. It is also likely that once a respondent employed a strategy (e.g., told the stalker that their behaviour

is unwanted), and that strategy is met with a negative outcome (i.e., there is no initial difference to the stalker's behaviour or the frequency of contact increases); such an outcome has an effect on the victim. In particular, the victim may rationally assume that the response is not effective, at least in the short term, and desist in that particular response. It may be, at this stage, that the victim pursues other methods in attempt to stop the stalker. This applied theory (RCP) may explain the findings that those pursed for longer periods engage in more strategies.

What works? It is submitted that the current findings are capable of fostering further research in this field of victimology, specifically, adopting a temporal approach to victim behaviours. From this, it is expected that practices within the victim-support community will be enhanced. First, however, a caveat is issued: overall, while results may appear in line with existing research that recommend unequivocally communicating to a stalker that their behaviour is unwanted (de Becker, 1997; Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Guerette & Santana, 2010; Ullman, 2007), not all instances of stalking are alike; for this reason, great care must be taken, particularly with regard to stalking, before general trends are applied to individual cases. The findings from the present study are unable to determine with any certainty whether responding to the stalker is an adaptive response. Relatedly, the medium and content of this type of communication — telling the stalker their behaviour is unwanted — may affect the outcome of the response (de Becker, 1997). Moreover, the relationship and context between victim and stalker, in addition to the motivation or mental health of the stalker, are all capable of successfully dividing opinion as to whether responding assertively can mitigate an instance of stalking. In short, there are too many unknowns when it comes to stalking.

Viewed from a different methodological perspective — reviewing and summarising each case of stalking — the findings from this research show that instances of stalking are unique; each stalking victim has a different story to tell. As such, in the face of the present research, caution must be exercised when using conclusions drawn from evidence-based research for the convenient consumption of those in practice. It is submitted, based on encouraging findings from this study, that employing some of the listed responses, dichotomised as 'moving away', 'moving outward' and 'moving against' (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001) sooner rather than later, may result in a shorter duration of stalking. The findings also support previous research that employing 'moving away' responses (e.g., altering activity online, changing social habits, moving to a new house, ignoring the stalker, changing mobile phone number) are considered to be more helpful in stopping the stalking, as judged by victims (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011).

As explained in a previous chapter, in advocating for victims to take action while being stalked, the present study does not intend to remove culpability on the part of the stalker. For example, it has previously been identified that advocating for 'moving away' responses 'may be adverse in that it burdens the victim with life changes and responsibilities' (Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012, p.416; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Therefore, this research is circumspect in its recommendations. Victims of stalking should not carry the burden of engaging in a particular constellation of behaviours. It is the behaviour of stalkers that legislation has sought to proscribe, and the investigation and policing of stalking laws should focus on the conduct of the pursuer. The present study was approached from a victimological perspective in the light of the damage that can be caused to victims of stalking as outlined in

Chapter Three of the thesis. In attempting to advance our understanding of this offence and methods of frustrating its occurrence, it is submitted that the desire to change the pursuer is far less practical than changing the victim's conduct (de Becker, 1997)

Applying Routine Activity Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), the police can be considered 'capable guardians' within Felson's crime triangle. So too can workplace managers. The current study found that some victim experiences with the justice system, in particular, the police, were resoundingly below that of the standard expected by victims when approaching the police. While this finding is not new among the body of stalking literature, it is disappointing to see that a phenomenon lingers; that of victims feeling dismissed. This must be remedied. By improving the experiences of stalking victims within the criminal justice system, the benefits are many. Were victims to believe that their ordeal will be treated seriously, it is likely that victim will feel more comfortable reporting criminal offences. It is also important for a stalking victim to feel believed and to be heard; comments left by victims indicated that just by being given the opportunity to document their experience through the survey, they felt better. More must be done to improve the perception that law-enforcement do not take stalking seriously. Further, victims must feel safe to report crime and it would be expected that officers trained in engaging with vulnerable victims would be available to assists those who have experienced being stalked. Such a practice would be sound in the light of the fact that stalking may form part of a wider pattern of victimisation, such as domestic violence, assault or sexual assault.

Further, as mentioned, workplace managers (i.e., employer/boss) can also be considered capable guardians. In the present study, more than one-quarter of victims met their stalker in

the workplace. There was also an association between informing a boss of the stalking within two weeks and a shorter duration of stalking. Further, from the open-comments provided by victims, some felt exposed at work by virtue of having to display their personal information such as their name on a badge or photograph on a website profile. With the advent of workplace policies relating to domestic violence, it is surprising that there is little or no engagement with practices to ensure employees are not put at risk of being stalked while at work. Indeed, based on the findings of this study exploring the economic toll of stalking, it is clear that victims contend with taking days off work and losing time and money as a result of seeking treatment or refuge. The development and implementation of policies designed by employers or human resources to ensure that employees are supported through their stalking experience would be a worthwhile advancement, and would go a long way towards recognising stalking as a serious concern for the public, in particular, working-age women.

Given the many and varied behaviours that victims reported being exposed to part of being stalked (for example, one victim had her underwear cut up), stalking legislation ought to adopt a broad definition of stalking to the extent that it does not unreasonably interfere with civil liberties. Relatedly, in the present study many victims responded to the stalker by ignoring them. Such a response fails to communicate expressly to the stalker that their behaviour is unwanted. As such, given the preponderance of this victim response, stalking legislation needs to adopt an objective (i.e., a 'reasonable person') test in relation to whether the stalker 'knew' that their behaviours would cause apprehension or fear or detriment. Alternatively, and in keeping with Queensland legislation (*Criminal Code (Qld) 1899*), the offence is made out in circumstances where the stalker's conduct *would* cause the stalked person apprehension, fear

or detriment. That is, an intention to cause harm to the victim is not an element of the offence. Nor, indeed, is an awareness that their behaviour would cause the victim harm. As such, by drafting the legislation in this way (i.e., to avoid requiring proof that the stalker knew their behaviour would cause distress), those victims who adopt passive or inert repo senses (i.e., ignoring) will not be criticised for failing to demonstrate to the stalker that their pursuit behaviours were unwanted.

A key theme to emerge as a result of the qualitative data explored as part of this thesis was the lack of awareness among victims of stalking as to what constituted stalking. It was clear that, for some victims, delaying in responding to stalking was associated with a lack of certainty on the part of the victim as to those behaviours that are stalking. As such, in the pursuit of reducing excuses for those who stalk (Clarke, 1980), government funded awareness and education campaigns targeting adolescents and those entering tertiary education ought to be developed. In turn, it is expected that a clearer understanding among young people as to those pursuit behaviours that are acceptable and those that are not will ensue.

In the legitimate exploration of aiding those faced with being stalked, who invariably lean on informal methods to stop the stalker (Mechanic, 2002), this research has found that, compared with other victims, those who employ certain strategies early tend to experience a shorter duration of stalking. This finding could play a significant role in risk assessments among the victim-support community. It is, of course, imperative that further studies be conducted with larger samples before stronger recommendations are applied and communicated to the community.

Limitations

There are several limitations in the present study. First, respondents were self-selected. While a legal criterion was applied and provided to all participants at the beginning of the survey, all participants were required to self-report being victims of stalking. There is no guarantee that the legal criterion was met. Additionally, as the survey was reliant on self-defined stalking victims, it is possible that, in the light of previously recognised limitations of similar studies (Sheridan & Lyndon, 2012), only those at the more extreme end of the victimisation scale may have responded. Further, it is possible that those who were more pro-active about their stalking were more likely to respond to the survey and complete the questionnaire (Diette, Goldsmith, Hamilton, Darity & McFarland, 2014). Despite the various approaches to participant recruitment undertaken and different media that were used (media news and press, radio, presentations), it is possible that those victims who were more likely to employ, for example, 'moving inward tactics' and to isolate themselves, were not represented among the present sample.

It is accepted that the sample size in the present study was not as large as other samples of stalking victims (Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Indeed, a larger sample would have been desirable, although it is highlighted that victims of stalking are a notoriously difficult sample to access. The sample size had a significant impact on, for example, determining the effect of delay in applying for a restraining order, as few respondents took this action overall (n=26), and no one reported doing so within two weeks. Moreover, all respondents employed at least one response, with no group or individual capable of being identified as taking no action at all. This meant that no control group could be recognised to

determine with any certainty that responding to the stalker results, overall, in less victimisation. A national stalking register does not exist in Australia, and access to victims is difficult. Without a register of victims or other form of convenient access to those who have been subjected to stalking, longitudinal and controlled studies are unlikely to form. Such an absence in this field of research is noteworthy, as a wealth of information capable of protecting current and future victims of stalking remains undiscovered.

Given the nature of the study, that is, the study of victims of crime, great care was taken to ensure that respondent information remained anonymous and confidential. However, while an Internet-based survey is highly effective and convenient for sampling large populations, as a method of eliciting data relating to experiences of stalking, qualitative interviews with victims would have likely illuminated the various nuances associated with being stalked. As such, it is recommended that future research be conducted using in-depth interviews as part of the research methodology so as to sketch, in far greater detail, victim responses to stalking and the reasons for any delay. To highlight this, the methodology used in the present study was limited in discovering the nature and type of response provided by respondents when initially informing the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted. It is submitted that an interview could have mapped the quality and content of the response (e.g., what they said when they personally informed the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted), as distinct from a series of questionnaire items completed by correspondence.

As previously emphasised, individual instances of stalking are constructs of many variables — each of them capable of affecting the duration and intensity of being stalked. Although commendable, studies invariably attempt to turn subjective data into objective results. As is

endemic of most research, it is not always the case that every variable can be controlled for or afforded a margin of error. While tests for significance were performed and qualitative data analysed, the findings do not reflect the experiences of all victims of stalking. This is because of the many variables associated with a stalking experience. It is therefore stressed, particularly to those on the front-line of the victim-support community, that each instance of stalking should be viewed situationally and while general trends and behaviours should be considered, they cannot be applied in a dogmatic fashion.

The present study relied on retrospective data; in particular, victims of stalking were invited to nominate information based on their recollection. Broadly, the largest concern of self-defined participant surveys is that responses are unable to be independently verified and the overall findings of the study may suffer from respondents' bias in memory recollection (i.e., selective memory), telescoping (i.e., recalling events in an incorrect chronological order), attribution (i.e., assigning positive events with one's own agency and negative events with external forces — in this case, the stalker), and exaggeration (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009). These limitations are difficult to measure and control for, especially in instances where a historic case of stalking experience is being recalled. It is accepted that the accurate recollection of historic events for an individual can be difficult. Given that several questionnaire items required respondents to identify and provide information about past events and, in particular, the dates on which events occurred, it was expected that, throughout the questionnaire, data may be unavailable, incomplete or inaccurate (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009). It may be that for these, among other, reasons, responses throughout the survey are irregular.

The questionnaire comprised too many items and this may have caused a significant number of respondents to discontinue with the study. This is illustrated, perhaps, by the fact that, in cleaning the dataset, 74 respondents failed to answer more than six questions (that is, they failed to complete more than four per cent of the survey). Additionally, given the significant length of the survey, it is inferred that not only was there attrition among respondents, but also the quality of responses. On reflection, the questionnaire should have comprised fewer questions; in particular, in modifying Sheridan and Blaauw's (2004) work, several items could have been excluded and, for the purpose of the current study, the questionnaire could have been designed to measure the information most relevant to the purpose of the study (i.e., to measure duration of stalking against individual responses and their timing). Due to time constraints of the doctoral project, it was determined that a pilot study was not feasible. In hindsight, a pilot study to test the questionnaire should have been conducted so that trends and pitfalls could be identified and remedied.

Relatedly, the construction of a number of questionnaire items could have been improved. Despite all care being taken in adapting the work of Sheridan and Blaauw (2004), it is acknowledged that there were many items in the questionnaire that ought not to have been binary and/or leading. For example, a particular item asked: 'Did you inform your manager/boss at work that you were being stalked?' and the options for respondents were 'Yes' and 'No'. The question assumed that the respondent is employed and/or has a manager at their place of work. For those who indicated 'No' as their response, it is unclear whether that respondent did not notify their manager/boss at work, or, in fact, the question applies to the respondent's circumstances at all. It was the case that, on several occasions, respondents did

not attend to the question that the item was intended to measure. For example, when asked to nominate the most frightening experience while being stalked, several respondents explained in detail the general, overall, deleterious effects of being stalked (i.e., being in fear, feeling powerless, etc.). The questionnaire item was intended to measure the most awful experience (i.e., being assaulted or approached at work) that may have been the catalyst for exerting greater agency over their stalking experience (e.g., contacting the police). Similarly, when asked to nominate *what* the last incident of stalking was, several respondents provided a date, and had therefore assumed the question was asking *when* the last incident of stalking had been experienced. This could be due to improper formatting, in particular, 'cluttering' of the questionnaire (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009, p.177), in addition to the frequency with which questions related to timings and dates appeared in a particular section. Relatedly, some items were left as multiple-choice answers — that is, using the online-survey, respondents were able to indicate more than one response. This led, in some cases, to confusion in relation to the hierarchy of some responses.

In hindsight, there are a number of questionnaire items that may have been worthwhile including as part of the present study. For example, 'would you have acted sooner?' would explicate the desire, if any, among respondents to minimise delay in responding. Additionally, as part of the study, respondents were asked how effective a particular strategy (e.g., changed e-mail address) was in stopping the stalking. To help qualify whether the strategy was, indeed, helpful in stopping the stalking, a separate item measuring whether the particular response affected the frequency of contact may have assisted current findings. Finally, the frequency of given responses to stalking were not measured. For example, although respondents may have

indicated that they changed their e-mail address, it is unclear how many times they employed this strategy. Such a measurement would indicate the level of persistence on the part of the victim, as well as tending to show the utility of a particular strategy based on frequency over time.

Conclusion

The final conclusion of this thesis returns to the work of the earliest pioneers of stalking research as they were referred to in Chapter One of this thesis, namely, that 'in studying stalking, we are constantly seeking more effective ways of identifying and protecting the victims' (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2002, p.337). Victim responses to stalking must continue to be examined as part of future research in the pursuit of finding new and improved methods to protect victims against being stalked. As a serial crime, stalking comprises a temporal dimension, that is to say, victims are exposed to pursuit behaviours over a sustained period. The present research found the average duration of stalking was two years and eight months, with instances ranging from one week to 25 years. Unlike other prevalent offences (assaults, stealing, burglary), stalking typically involves an offender contacting or following a person on more than one occasion. For this reason, victims have an opportunity to employ measures at an early stage that may ensure they are less likely to become 'suitable' (Cohen & Felson, 1979) for further victimisation.

Supporting an existing body of research (Dutton & Winstead, 2011; Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012), results from the current study reveal that, in an attempt to stop their stalker, victims of stalking employ a constellation of behaviours. To reiterate, based on similar findings, previous research explained that (Nguyen, Spitzberg & Lee, 2012, p.429):

> The irony is that from a correlational perspective, the more a person copes, the more unwanted pursuit that person experiences and the more negative symptoms are experienced — the structural appearance is that coping may make matters worse. The irony does not necessarily imply that the coping responses are failing — it just implies that it is challenging to identify how coping strategies function over the course of a relationship.

In an attempt to identify and explicate how strategies function, the current study adopted a multi-factorial approach. It is submitted that the present work aligns with the aims of many recommendations made within the community of stalking research, as it has improved the focus on victim responses (Amar, 2006; Amar & Alexy, 2010; Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011, Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000; Ravensberg & Miller, 2003). In particular, this study provides a greater understanding of the strategies employed by stalking victims in Australia. The present research is one of the few stalking studies set in a localised antipodean jurisdiction. Moreover, the study used a national sample with respondents living in different Australian states and territories. As such, it joins a growing body of research that has extended beyond convenience samples of stalking victims, particularly those exclusive to college students (Amar, 2004, 2006; Buhi, Clayton & Surrency, 2009; Coleman, 1997; Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1996; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999).

The study was among the existing few to apply a legal definition for the operationalisation of stalking. Indeed, for the purpose of identifying a self-selected sample, it applied one of the world's first legal definitions of stalking (Queensland, Australia). As an epistemological work, the study has broadened the scope of victimology by measuring the timing of victim responses

to determine any effect on the duration of stalking. It is submitted that this was a novel, and indeed unconventional, approach to victimology. Finally, the study is among the few to apply RAT (Cohen & Felson, 1979) to examine stalking victims.

The genesis for this work was time spent with victims of domestic violence. It is averred that the findings will play a role in reducing crime and minimising the deleterious effects of being stalked. Moreover, it is anticipated that greater awareness of the importance of responding early will reform common pre-conceived ideas about reporting crime. Based on the contributions of the present study, it is submitted that the field of research is ripe for further studies to be conducted. As highlighted in an earlier chapter of this thesis, the role that communication has in early stages of stalking should not be overlooked. At present, the environment of victimological studies of stalking is likely to benefit from further research focused on the quality and content of assertive behaviours among victims. For example, similar to recent research (Sinclair, Ladny & Lyndon, 2011), studies should examine the language, behaviour and medium used or exhibited by a victim to communicate their desire to be left alone following the dissolution of a relationship. In particular, a closer examination of the efficacy of current practices recommended to abate instances of stalking ought to be conducted, such as the use of the aforementioned phrase (de Becker, 2002, p.38):

> No matter what you may have assumed till now, and no matter for what reason you assumed it, I have no romantic interest in you whatsoever. I am certain I never will. I expect that knowing this, you'll put your attention elsewhere, which I understand, because that's what I intend to do.

Such research will be likely to yield evidence of the impact of unequivocal statements (compared to personal or informal strategies). Further, there remains a paucity of longitudinal studies in the current research climate exploring factors associated with protracted instances of stalking (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Dutton & Winstead, 2011). It is submitted that the advent of a national stalking register that engages with evidence-based research will better serve the victim/survivor community, particularly those on the front-line (i.e., support workers, counsellors and law-enforcement). Future studies that maintain a greater focus on behavioural trends and unconventional responses to stalking may assist in discovering practices that thwart instances of stalking. For example, where a victim takes a particular course of action (e.g., changes their mobile phone number), what does this cause a stalker to do? That is, does the stalker adapt? If so, then how do they adapt? It is recognised that although relatively little is known about how to stop stalkers, strategies may be 'victim directed, stalker directed, and stalking directed' (Sheridan, Blaauw & Davies, 2003, p. 149). Prospective research examining whether an optimal constellation of victim responses exists may yield advice capable of informing best practice in stopping a stalker. Moreover, the efficacy of identical and consistent victim responses remains virtually unexplored — greater research should be undertaken to examine the relationship between the frequency and intensity of victim responses affecting the duration of stalking. The present study has considerable application to offences other than stalking. The theoretical framework and research design that underpin this thesis are capable of informing responses to domestic violence, online-bullying and extortion. In addition, future studies of stalking should also consider examining the nature and prevalence of stalking for other populations (e.g., LGBTIQ, as well as Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) and Indigenous communities).

It was not long ago highlighted (referring to the situation in the United States) that 'stalking continues to be a public health problem' (Basile, Swahn, Chen & Saltzman, 2006, p.173). As such, it is unsurprising that there have been calls for stalking to be examined through a human rights lens (Logan & Walker, 2009). Much has already been canvassed in relation to extant stalking legislation, but to address an important concern — reducing and preventing individuals coming into contact with stalking laws — greater education and awareness of appropriate forms of communication are desirable (Dennison & Thomson, 2005). Such prevention schemes, delivered throughout the course of developmental years in compulsory education, are likely to disrupt the patterns of stalking victimisation that presently occur in most jurisdictions. While the fruits of such a scheme may not be noticeable immediately, it is submitted that the prevalence of stalking will diminish long-term. At present, one of the greatest concerns in facing the stalking problem is communicating with victims. It is expected that many victims of stalking avoid contact with the outside world and isolate themselves. The victim-support community is capable of infusing those affected with a sense of assurance and providing victims with legal, financial and emotional support. Crucially, without greater awareness in the community that victims are encouraged to seek help, little change is likely to occur.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire

Responding to Stalking – RO 1617

Stalking Questionnaire

Explanatory Statement

We are interested in finding out more about the experiences of stalking victims and survivors in order to try and understand the best possible methods of intervention by victims. Stalking is widespread in Australia, with up to 15% of the female population having been stalked at some point in their lives. We would like to find out about your experiences, specifically, how you have responded to being stalked. The aim of this research is to improve services and support for victims.

We would therefore be most grateful if you could complete this questionnaire. Stalking is an extraordinary and complex crime, so the questionnaire is (unfortunately!) quite detailed. Work through it at your own pace, perhaps taking breaks and returning to the questionnaire when you feel ready. **It is estimated that the questionnaire may take between 40 to 60 minutes to complete.**

The questionnaire can be completed by entering the following web-address (www.surveymonkey.com/s/stalkingresponses) and following the web-links. If you would rather complete a paper copy of the questionnaire, please contact Matthew via e-mail at stalkingresponses@gmail.com or by post at "Bond University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Gold Coast, Queensland, 4229."

All responses are anonymous which means neither we nor anyone else will know your identity. You are required to complete a text box at the start of the questionnaire, providing the last 3 digits of your mobile or home phone, plus the first and last letters of your surname or mother's maiden name, and your date of birth for month only (for example, "550PK10"). This is a unique reference number which you are asked to make a note of in order that, should you wish to contact us and withdraw your information from the survey at any stage, we will be able to identify your questionnaire using that reference. In the event that you need to contact us, your information will remain confidential. If you're feeling any distress as a result of completing the survey, please

contact Bond Counselling Service on 0755954002, “Lifeline” on 131114 or a private practitioner.
The questionnaire has seven sections in all. Between some sections you are prompted to **“Take a Break”** by answering questions which do not necessarily relate to your experiences of stalking. Please complete these as your answers to them are equally important to our research. If you think we have missed anything out, or if you would like to tell us more about any particular aspect of your experience, please go to the end where there is additional space to add further details.

This study only seeks to know about the information of **ONE** stalker – if you have been stalked by more than one person, please feel free to submit an additional survey.

Please only complete the survey if you are:
Female;
Over the age of 18;
Living in Australia; and
You have been stalked at one time or another.

Stalking, for the purposes of this questionnaire, includes intentionally being followed, watched, approach, contacted by phone, email, or other use of technology, being sent offensive material or being threatened or experiencing acts of violence towards you or your property, (any of these behaviours must have occurred on more than one occasion) which has either caused you to be fearful, OR has caused you detriment (e.g., serious psychological harm, selling a property you would not otherwise sell, changing your route to work, fearful for another person’s safety, etc.).

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is being conducted please make contact with the following, quoting the reference “RO1617” –

Bond University Human Research Ethics Committee,
c/o Bond University Office of Research Services.
Bond University, Gold Coast, 4229
Tel: +61 7 5595 4194 Fax: +61 7 5595 1120 Email: buhrec@bond.edu.au

Thank you.

Mr Matthew RAJ
Student Researcher

Dr. Terry Goldsworthy
Principal Investigator

Reference Number

This self-generated reference code will allow us to identify your survey in the event that you might wish us to withdraw your response from our survey

Please provide us with the **last 3 digits of your mobile or home phone** (e.g., 550), plus the **first and last letters of your surname or mother's maiden name** (e.g., PK), and your **date of birth for month only** (e.g., 10).

_____

Section One – About you

This first section asks for some basic information about you.

1.0 Your occupation: _____

1.1 Your year of birth (e.g., 1968): _____

1.2 Your marital status:

Single	☐	Married	☐
Dating	☐	Divorced/separated	☐
Living with partner	☐	Widowed	☐

Section Two – About the stalker

Please tell us about your most recent instance of stalking. Of course, some victims will not be aware of their stalker's details. Some victims may not know who their stalker is. If you don't know the answers to any of the questions in the questionnaire, or if you would prefer not to answer some questions, then just leave them blank.

2.0 Do you know who your stalker is?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (Please go to Section Three)

2.1 Stalker's gender:

Female ☐ Male ☐ Not known ☐

2.2 Stalker's country of residence _____

2.3 Stalker's state of residence _____

2.4 Stalker's occupation _____

2.5 Stalker's year of birth (e.g. 1968) _____

2.6 Stalker's marital status:

Single	☐	Married	☐
Dating	☐	Divorced/separated	☐
Living with partner	☐	Widowed	☐
Not known	☐		

2.7 Did the stalker take illegal drugs or have an alcohol dependency at the time of the stalking?

Yes☐ No☐ Don't know☐

Section Three – About the stalking

This section asks about your previous perceptions of stalking, before asking for details of your actual stalking experience.

3.0 **Were you aware of what stalking was before you became a victim?**

Yes ☐ No☐ Don't know☐

3.1 **What <u>was</u> your perception of stalking before you became a victim?**

Didn't know anything about it	☐
Thought it only happened to celebrities	☐
Thought it was a media fuss over nothing	☐
Thought it was a severe harassment problem	☐
Thought only deranged people did it	☐
Thought it was about people trying too hard to get dates	☐

Other (please state)

3.2 **Have you ever been stalked before by someone other than this stalker?**

Yes ☐ No ☐

3.3 **In relation to your most recent experience, when did you first become aware of the stalking?** (month/year)

_____

3.4 **If different, when did the stalking begin? (i.e., how long before you became aware of the stalking had the stalker been pursuing you?)** (month/year)

_____

3.5 **What was the FIRST incident that made you aware you were being stalked?** (e.g., being followed, sent text messages, received note, etc.)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3.6 **What was the LAST (i.e., most recent) incident of stalking you experienced?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3.7 **Are you still being stalked?**

Yes☐ No☐ Don't know☐

3.8 **If no, when did the stalking end?** (month/year)

_____

3.9 **Please state how long the stalking continued/has continued for**(in weeks/months/years)

_____ Weeks _____ Months _____ Years

If it is now over, how did the stalking end?

Police warning	☐
Conviction	☐
Solicitors' letter	☐
Stalker imprisoned	☐
Warned off by others	☐
Stalker found someone else to go out with/stalk	☐
Just stopped	☐
Don't know	☐

Other (please state)_____

3.11 **How did you first meet your stalker?** (e.g., ex-partner, work colleague, s/he was a stranger, or met online)

_____

_____

3.12 **If your stalker was an ex-partner, how long were you in a relationship for?** (weeks/months/years)

_____

3.13 **If your stalker was an ex-partner, did you experience domestic violence during the relationship?**

Not an ex-partner	☐
No	☐
Yes – physical violence	☐
Yes – emotional violence (e.g. possessiveness, being put down)	☐
Yes - both emotional and physical violence	☐

3.14 **What was the trigger for the stalking?** (e.g., end of a relationship, rejection, no known trigger)

_____

_____

_____

3.15 **Towards the beginning of the stalking, how often did the stalker contact you?**

Once per day or more ☐
More than three times per week ☐
Once per week ☐
Once per month ☐
Less than once each month ☐

3.16 **Overall, on <u>average</u>, how often does/did the stalker contact you?**

Once per day or more ☐
More than three times per week ☐
Once per week ☐
Once per month ☐
Less than once each month ☐

3.17 Stalkers harass using an almost endless variety of methods. We have listed the most common methods. Please indicate any you have experienced, and please add any further methods of stalking that we have missed:

Followed you
Sent you unsolicited letters/other written material ☐
Made unsolicited phone calls to you ☐
Sent you unsolicited e-mails ☐
Sent you unsolicited text messages ☐
Sent unsolicited picture messages to you ☐
Tried to communicate in other ways against your will ☐
Photographed you without your agreement ☐
Abused your pet(s) ☐
Threatened to harm your pet(s) ☐
Vandalised your home ☐
Vandalised your car ☐
Vandalised other property/destroyed something you loved ☐
Harassed your family/friends/neighbours/colleagues ☐

Physically assaulted you	☐
Threatened to physically assault you	☐
Sexually assaulted you	☐
Threatened to sexually assault you	☐
Harassed your children	☐
Threatened to harm your children	☐
Broke into your home	☐
Visited your home	☐
Visited your workplace/school/university	☐
Spied on you	☐
Stood outside your home	☐
Stood outside your workplace/school/university	☐
Left unwanted items for you to find	☐
Turned up at places you were even though s/he had no business being there	☐
Sent you 'presents' (e.g. flowers)	☐
Manipulated you and/or others	☐
Spread lies about you	☐
Violated a Protection/Restraining Order	☐

Others (e.g., threatened your new partner…):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.18 **Does/did the stalker harass you via the Internet?**

No ☐ Yes ☐ If yes, please provide details (website/behaviour):

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.19 **Complex legal issues arise when stalkers harass their victims from another country. Does/did your stalker harass you from overseas?**

No ☐ Yes☐

If yes, please provide details:

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.20 **Whilst being stalked, how frightened does/did your stalker make you feel?**

Not at all frightened ☐
A little frightened ☐
Somewhat frightened ☐
Very frightened ☐

3.21 **Not all stalking victims are taken seriously from the outset. Did any of the following apply to you?**

Was told I was over-reacting/being paranoid ☐
Did not want to go to police for fear of being ignored/ laughed at ☐
People said I was lucky to have the attention ☐
The police did not take me seriously ☐
Family or friends did not take me seriously ☐
Thought I was going mad ☐
None of the above ☐

Other ☐(please detail)

_____

_____

3.22 **What do you feel was the most frightening (i.e., WORST) incident of stalking that you experienced?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.23 **Whilst being stalked, do/did you fear that you would be physically hurt?** (indicate all that apply):

No ☐
Yes – I feared the stalker would physically hurt me ☐
Yes – I feared the stalker would physically hurt others ☐
Yes – I feared that I and others would be hurt ☐

3.24 **Whilst being stalked, does/did your stalker harass others?** (indicate all that apply):

No, just me ☐ Yes – my friends ☐
Yes – my children ☐ Yes – other family members ☐
Yes – my partner ☐ Yes – my neighbours ☐
Yes – my work colleagues ☐ Yes – others ☐
Please state whom:

_____

_____

3.25 **Whilst being stalked, does/did your stalker threaten to kill him/herself or self-harm?**

No ☐ Yes ☐

3.26 **Whilst being stalked, does/did your stalker try to find information about you from others?** Please indicate all that apply:

No ☐
Yes – my children ☐
Yes – my partner ☐
Yes – other family members ☐
Yes – my friends ☐
Yes – my work colleagues ☐
Yes – my neighbours ☐
Yes – others ☐

Please say whom:

_____

3.27 **Whilst being stalked, does/did anyone help your stalker?** Please indicate all that apply:

No – s/he operated alone ☐
Yes – people helped him or her knowingly (please say whom) ☐
Yes – people helped him or her unwittingly (please say whom) ☐

Yes – people were hired to obtain/collect information ☐
Yes – others ☐
Please say whom:

_____

3.28 **If the stalker obtained information about you, where did they get it from?**
Please indicate all that apply:

The stalker did not obtain info about me ☐
Family/friends ☐
Neighbours ☐
Work ☐
Internet ☐
Public records ☐
Bank ☐
Doctor/dentists ☐
Don't know where they obtained info about me ☐
Other (please detail) ☐

_____

_____

"TAKE A BREAK…."
Please complete the following series of questions either 'true' or 'false'. They are designed to assist us in learning more about you.

1. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.

   True ☐ False ☐

2. I have never intensely disliked someone.

   True ☐ False ☐

3. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.

   True ☐ False ☐

4. I like to gossip at times.

   True ☐ False ☐

5. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.

True ☐ False ☐

6. I can remember “playing sick” to get out of something.

True ☐ False ☐

Section Four – Responses from Others

4.0 **How far has your case gone?**

I’ve not reported it to anyone official ☐
Not yet reported to police ☐
Police have been made aware (although not recorded) ☐
I’ve asked a solicitor for advice ☐
I’ve taken action through my solicitor (e.g. warning letter) ☐
Police have recorded my case as a crime ☐
Stalker has been cautioned ☐
Stalker has been arrested ☐
Case has gone to court – Guilty verdict ☐
Case has gone to court – Not guilty verdict ☐
Restraining order granted ☐
Stalker detained under the Mental Health Act ☐
Stalker receiving treatment ☐
Stalker jailed ☐
Stalker has received a sentence ☐

Please specify:

_____

_____

4.1 **If you have been to court, how many prosecutions have you been involved in relating to your stalker?** _____

4.2 **If your case did not proceed to court, please indicate why**:

I never reported being stalked ☐
Insufficient evidence ☐
I withdrew my complaint ☐
Suspect was warned/cautioned by the Police ☐
The Prosecution stopped the case ☐
The case was discontinued ☐
Don’t know ☐
Other ☐

Please specify:

_____

_____

4.3 **Has the media been involved in your case?**

Yes ☐ No☐ (If no, please go to Section Five)

If so, who initiated media involvement?

I approached the media ☐
The media approached me ☐
Someone else put me in touch with the media ☐

If so, did the media help you?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure ☐

Any other comments about the media? _____

Section Five– Your Responses to Stalking
This section asks about what you did in response to the stalker's actions and about how you coped (or are coping).

5.0 **Did you personally inform the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted?**

Yes ☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, how did you inform them of this? (e.g., face to face, phone, text message, personal letter)

_____

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.1 **Do/did you keep a diary or log of the stalker's actions?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you start to do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.2 **Do/did you hold on to any evidence left by your stalker? (e.g. letters, answerphone tapes, phone records, items sent by the stalker)**

Yes☐ No ☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you start to do this? (month/year)

_____

If so, did you later provide any evidence to the police or court service?

Yes☐ No ☐

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.3 **Do/did you try to get evidence of your stalker in action? (e.g. by taking photos of him or her outside your house?)**

Yes☐ No ☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.4 **Did you change your mobile/telephone number?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the contact was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.5 **Did you change your e-mail address?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the contact was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.6 **Did you alter your activity online (i.e., took Facebook down or blocked the stalker)**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the contact was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.7 **Did you change your social habits (e.g., did not go to local pub, tried different coffee shop)**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the contact was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.8 **Did you inform the police that you were being stalked?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.9 **Did you inform a relative that you were being stalked?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.10 **Did you inform a friend that you were being stalked?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.11 **Did you inform your manager/boss at work that you were being stalked?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.12 **Did you make an application for a restraining order/injunction against the stalker?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year) If you applied for more than one, please provide details of each one

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.13 **Did you move house as a result of the stalking?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.14 **Did you increase security at your place of residence? (e.g., dog, CCTV, extra-lighting)**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.15 **Did you threaten the stalker?**

Yes ☐ No ☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.16 **Did you physically assault the stalker?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.17 **Did you change your mailing address? (e.g., used a PO BOX number instead)**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.18 **Did you change/alter your travel routine? (e.g., took different route to work/different bus)**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.19 **Did you change your job?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.20 **Did you have a solicitor contact the stalker to inform them their behaviour was unwanted?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.21 **Did you ignore the stalking behaviour/the stalker?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, when did you do this? (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.22 **Did you change your name?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, please state what it was and when you did this (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.23 **Did you directly act/change anything else in response to the stalking?**

Yes☐ No☐(Please move to next question)

If yes, please state what it was and when you did this (month/year)

_____

How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Very helpful ☐ Helpful ☐ No difference ☐ Unhelpful ☐ Made things worse ☐

5.24 **Did you respond to the stalker at all?** Please indicate all that apply:

No ☐
Yes, I answered the telephone ☐
Yes, I replied to e-mails ☐
Yes, I replied to text messages ☐

Yes, I confronted the stalker ☐
Yes, I threatened the stalker ☐
Yes, I attacked the stalker (direct self-defence) ☐
Yes, I attacked the stalker (not direct self-defence) ☐
Yes, I asked the stalker to leave me alone ☐
Yes, I asked the stalker why s/he was doing this to me ☐
Yes, I made a response not listed here ☐

Please add details:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5.25 **If you did respond to the stalker, at what point did this happen?**

At the start of the stalking ☐
After several incidents ☐
After many incidents ☐

5.26 **If you did respond to the stalker, do you think this helped or made things worse?**

Helped ☐
Made things worse ☐
Had no effect ☐
Unsure ☐

5.27 **Did other people (but not official agencies such as the police) respond to the stalker on your behalf? Please indicate all that apply:**

No ☐
Yes, they answered the telephone ☐
Yes, they replied to e-mails ☐
Yes, they replied to text messages ☐
Yes, they confronted the stalker ☐
Yes, they threatened the stalker ☐
Yes, they physically assaulted the stalker (direct self-defence) ☐

Yes, they physically assaulted the stalker (not direct self-defence) ☐
Yes, they asked the stalker to leave me alone ☐
Yes, they asked the stalker why s/he was doing this to me ☐
Yes, they made a response not listed here ☐

Please add details:

_____

_____

_____

_____

5.28 **If someone did respond to the stalker on your behalf, who were they? (e.g. brother, best friend)**

_____

_____

_____

5.29 **If others responded to the stalker on your behalf, do you think this helped or made things worse?**

Helped ☐
Made things worse ☐
Had no effect ☐
Unsure ☐

5.30 **In your opinion, what was the most helpful response you took that stopped the stalking?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5.31 **If you waited to take positive steps to stop the stalker (e.g., didn't inform the police/tell friends/get an injunction), was there any reason for the delay? (e.g., felt guilty/didn't want stalker arrested/didn't believe it would help/wanted to ignore behaviour/thought you were being paranoid).**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Coping

5.31 What methods do/did you use to cope with being stalked?

	Yes	Helpful
Had more contact with friends or family than usual	☐	☐
Had less contact with friends or family than usual	☐	☐
Drank more alcohol than usual	☐	☐
Took prescription medicines (e.g., tranquilisers, anti-depressants, sleeping tablets)	☐	☐
Tried complementary or alternative therapies (e.g. Reiki, acupuncture, aromatherapy)	☐	☐
Took recreational drugs (e.g. cannabis)	☐	☐
Didn't/don't go out as much/at all	☐	☐

Changed my routine	☐	☐
Carried a weapon	☐	☐
Went to see a counsellor or psychologist	☐	☐
Other coping strategies	☐	☐

If yes, please state which:

_____

_____

_____

TAKE A BREAK….

Please complete the following series of questions either 'true' or 'false'. They are designed to assist us in learning more about you.

1. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.

   True ☐ False ☐

2. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.

   True ☐ False ☐

3. I always try to practice what I preach.

   True ☐ False ☐

4. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget

   True ☐ False ☐

5. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.

   True ☐ False ☐

6. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

True ☐ False ☐

Section Six – The Effects of Stalking
This section asks what effects the stalking had on you and your loved ones, both physically and emotionally.

6.0 Physical effects. Below is a list of physical symptoms that some victims have described. Please indicate any that you experienced:

No physical effects	☐	Loss of appetite/increased appetite	☐
Weight changes	☐	Purging (using laxatives, forced vomiting)	☐
Sleep disturbances	☐	Nausea	☐
Headaches	☐	Tiredness	☐
Weakness	☐	Injuries (inflicted by the stalker)	☐
Self-harm	☐	Panic attacks	☐
Other	☐	Please state:	

_____

_____

_____

6.1 This list deals with emotional effects. Please indicate any that apply/applied to you:

No emotional effects	☐	Confusion	☐
Suicidal thoughts	☐	Anger	☐
Suicide attempt(s)	☐	Fear	☐
Depression	☐	Increased distrust	☐
Anxiety	☐	Aggression	☐
Paranoia	☐	Irritation	☐
Agoraphobia	☐		
Other	☐	Please state:	

_____

_____

_____

6.2 **Did you have to attend hospital or go and see your GP because of <u>physical injury</u> caused by the stalker (e.g. broken bones, bruising)?**

No ☐
Yes, saw my GP ☐
Yes, was admitted or referred to hospital ☐
Yes, admitted myself to hospital ☐

6.3 **Did you have to attend hospital or go and see your GP because of <u>other physical effects</u> caused by the stalking (e.g. eating disturbances, tiredness)?**

No ☐
Yes, saw my GP ☐
Yes, was admitted or referred to hospital ☐
Yes, admitted myself to hospital ☐

6.4 **Did you have to attend hospital or go and see your GP because of <u>emotional effects</u> caused by the stalking (e.g. depression, anxiety)?**

No ☐
Yes, saw my GP ☐
Yes, was admitted or referred to hospital ☐
Yes, admitted myself to hospital ☐

6.5 **Did your GP refer you for counselling?**

Yes ☐ No ☐

6.6 This next list asks whether you suffered social and financial consequences as a result of being stalked. **Please indicate all that apply**:

Had to change my job/course ☐
Had to move home ☐
Had to give up social activities (nights out, hobbies) ☐
Had to give up friends or family ☐
Was forced to see less of friends or family ☐
Have lost family and friends ☐
Had to change phone number/go ex-directory ☐
Had to change e-mail address ☐
Had to cut work hours ☐
Had to change my car/get rid of my car ☐
Had to fix property that stalker damaged ☐
Had to go underground/change my entire identity ☐
Relationship break-up ☐
Expense of counselling ☐

Expense of therapies ☐
Expense of legal advice ☐
Expense of installing security system ☐
Performance at work affected ☐
Annual leave used up on stalking related problems ☐
Others ☐

Please state:

_____
_____
_____

6.7 **If you took days off of work due to being stalked, please indicate how many days you took absence.**

_____Days

6.8 **If you lost money as a result of being stalked, perhaps due to losing a job, taking time off work, or mending a vandalised car, or attending counselling, how much (approximately) did you lose?**

$_____

6.9 **Being stalked often leads to victims feeling more sensitive to further victimisation. Either during or after the stalking, were you alarmed by any activity that was <u>not</u> carried out by your stalker?** Examples frequently include spam e-mails and text messages, or junk mail.

No ☐ Yes ☐ Please give details

_____

_____

_____

TAKE A BREAK….

Please complete the following series of questions either 'true' or 'false'. They are designed to assist us in learning more about you.

1. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.

True ☐ False ☐

2. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.

   True ☐ False ☐

3. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrong-doings.

   True ☐ False ☐

4. I never resent being asked to return a favour.

   True ☐ False ☐

5. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.

   True ☐ False ☐

6. There have times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.

   True ☐ False ☐

7. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me.

   True ☐ False ☐

8. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

   True ☐ False ☐

Section Seven – Your Advice and Recommendations

7.0 **When do you think that stalking really ends for victims?** Please choose just ONE response:

When the stalker decides to end the stalking ☐
When the stalker is punished by the legal authorities ☐
When the threat from the stalker has been neutralised ☐
When the stalker stops deriving pleasure from thinking about his/her actions ☐
When the stalker is truly sorry ☐
When victims take the law into their own hands ☐
When the victim forgives the stalker ☐
When the stalker moves on to stalk someone else ☐

Never ☐
Other ☐
Please state:

_____

_____

_____

7.1 **What advice would you give other victims?**

_____

_____

_____

7.2 **What would you have the agencies do to help victims of stalking?**

_____
_____

_____

7.3 **What, in your view, is the best way to stop a stalker?**

_____

_____

Any further comments

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Below are the contact details for Victim Support services across Australia.

ACT

Australian Federal Police
Victim Liaison Officers
Phone (02) 6245 7441
Fax (02) 6245 7266

Email vs@agd.nsw.gov.au

Victim Support ACT
Phone (02) 6205 2066
Toll Free 1800 822 272
Email victimsupport@act.gov.au

NSW

Victims Services
Phone (02) 8688 5511
Toll Free 1800 633 063
Fax (02) 8688 9631

NT

Victims of Crime NT
Phone (08) 8941 0995
Toll Free 1800 672 242
Fax (08) 8941 0459
www.victimsofcrime.org.au

QLD

Victims Counselling and Support Services
Relationships Australia
Toll Free 1300 139 703
Fax (07) 3255 2922
Email vcss@relateqld.asn.au
www.vcss.org.au

SA

Victim Support Service Inc
Phone (08) 8231 5626
Toll Free 1800 182 368
Fax (08) 8231 5458

TAS

Victims of Crime Service
Toll Free 1300 300 238

Email info@victimsa.org
www.victimsa.org

VIC

Victim Support Agency
Phone (03) 8684 6700
Fax (03) 8684 6777

www.justice.vic.gov.au/victimsofcrime

WA

Victim Support and ChildWitness Services
Phone (08) 9425 2850
Fax (08) 9221 2533

Domestic Violence Resource Centre Victoria –

http://www.dvrcv.org.au/help-advice/cyber-stalking-and-harassment/

www.justice.vic.gov.au/victimsofcrime

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Appendix 2: Survey Codebook

SURVEY CODEBOOK
VICTIM RESPONSES TO STALKING
(*N*=143)

This codebook is a supplementary framework for the data gathered as part of the study. The total number of questionnaire items was 164. There are seven sections, which comprise: About You (three items); About the Stalker (eight items); About the Stalking (29 items); Responses from Others (six items); Your Responses to Stalking (84 items); The Effects of Stalking (10 items); and Your Advice and Recommendations (four items). The questionnaire also included 20 items from Strahan & Gerbasi's Short Form of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale; M-C (20) (Marlowe & Crowne, 1960; Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). Some of the items attended to by respondents do not appear here because they were not pertinent to the study (i.e., no analysis was required).

SECTION ONE: ABOUT YOU

Q.3 Your occupation

Answered: 137 Skipped: 6

Answer	*n*	*%*
Student (self-declared)	38	26.57
Professional (anthropologist, journalist, nurse)	49	34.27
Retail (retail, business, entrepreneurial, e.g. shop assistant)	16	11.19
Service (finance, cleaner, administration, receptionist)	14	9.79
HDR (home duties, retired, unemployed)	18	12.59
Did not answer	8	5.59

Q.4 Your year of birth

Answered: 143 Skipped: 0

Answer	*n*	*%*
1920-29	2	1.40
1930-39	0	0.00
1940-49	7	4.90
1950-59	12	8.39
1960-69	27	18.88
1970-79	25	17.48
1980-89	37	25.87
1990-99	33	23.08

Q.5 Your marital status

Answered: 141 Skipped: 2

Answer	*n*	*%*
Single	53	37.06
Dating	13	9.09
Living with partner/married	50	34.97
Divorced/separated or widowed	25	17.48
Did not answer	2	1.40

SECTION TWO: ABOUT THE STALKER

Q.6 Do you know who your stalker is?

Answered: 143 Skipped: 0

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	125	87.41
No	18	12.59

Q.7 Stalker's gender

Answered: 124 Skipped: 19

Answer	*n*	*%*
Male	106	74.13
Female	18	12.59
Don't know	0	0.00
Did not answer	19	13.29

Q.8 Stalker's country of residence

Answered: 124 Skipped: 19

Answer	*n*	*%*
Australia	114	79.72
United Kingdom	1	0.70
Canada	2	1.40
France	1	0.70
Malaysia	1	0.70
New Zealand	1	0.70
Singapore	1	0.70
United States	2	1.40
South Africa	1	0.70
Did not answer	19	13.29

Q.9 If your stalker lives in Australia, what is their state of residence?

Answered: 114 Skipped: 29

Answer	*n*	*%*
ACT	3	2.10

NSW	35	24.48
QLD	42	29.37
SA	2	1.40
VIC	25	17.48
WA	7	4.90
Did not answer	29	20.28

Q.10 Stalker's occupation

Answered: 113 Skipped: 30

Answer	*n*	*%*
Student (self-declared)	21	14.69
Professional (film editor, health care, manager)	20	13.99
Retail (retail, business, entrepreneurial, e.g. marketing)	10	6.99
Service (hospital cleaner, library assistant, stone mason)	26	18.18
HDR (retired, unemployed)	18	12.59
Don't know	18	12.59
Did not answer	30	20.98

Q.11 Stalker's year of birth

Answered: 95 Skipped: 48

Answer	*n*	*%*
1920-29	0	0.00
1930-39	2	1.40
1940-49	7	4.90
1950-59	6	4.20
1960-69	17	11.89
1970-79	22	15.38
1980-89	21	14.69
1990-99	20	13.99
Did not answer	48	33.57

Q.12 Stalker's marital status

Answered: 103 Skipped: 40

Answer	*n*	*%*
Single	59	41.26
Dating	9	6.29
Living with partner/married	19	13.29
Divorced/separated or widowed	16	11.19
Did not answer	40	27.97

Q.13 Did the stalker take illegal drugs or have an alcohol dependency at the time of the stalking?

Answered: 124 Skipped: 19

Answer	*n*	*%*

Yes	38	26.57
No	42	29.37
Don’t know	44	30.77
Did not answer	19	13.29

SECTION THREE: ABOUT THE STALKING

Q.14 Were you aware of what stalking was before you became a victim?

Answered: 127 Skipped: 16

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	97	67.83
No	27	18.88
Don’t know	3	2.10
Did not answer	16	11.19

Q.15 What was your perception of stalking before you became a victim? (multi-response)

Answered: 118 Skipped: 25

Answer	*n*	*%*
Didn’t know anything about it	10	6.99
Thought it only happened to celebrities	25	17.48
Thought it was a media fuss over nothing	7	4.90
Thought it was a severe harassment problem	67	46.85
Thought only deranged people did it	38	26.57
Thought it was about people trying too hard to get dates	11	7.69
Did not answer	25	17.48

Q.15b Other responses/comments

- thought it was invasive
- Knew it was wrong but not how it affects the victim in all aspects
- Moon cake
- I knew it happened (Crim student) didn't know it would happen to me.
- I'm not sure.
- It's not something I remember giving any thought to - I was so young.
- Thought it only happened to other people
- Never thought it would happen to me because I wasn't attractive enough to be stalked.
- About creating fear and controlling someone
- Thought it only happened to attractive people and/or was done by people you'd known previously
- knew it was a dangerous situation to be in
- Thought it was a mild to severe harassment problem
- people rejected
- That it was wrong, annoying and potentially dangerous
- Was unaware of the prevalence and criteria so to speak

Q.16 Have you ever been stalked before by someone other than this stalker?

Answered: 127 Skipped: 16

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	34	23.78
No	93	65.03
Did not answer	16	11.19

Q.17 In relation to your most recent experience, when did you first become aware of the stalking?

Answered: 128 Skipped: 15

Answer	*n*	*%*
1960-69	0	0.00
1970-79	0	0.00
1980-89	8	5.59
1990-99	14	9.79
2000-2009	41	28.67
2010-2015	65	45.45
Did not answer	15	10.49

Q.18 How long before you became aware of the stalking had the stalker been pursuing you?

Answered: 56 Skipped: 87

	First Aware DD/MM/YY (Q18)	**First Began DD/MM/YY (Q17)**	**Difference/Duration**
1	01/06/04	01/01/04	5 months
2	01/02/13	12/02/13	-
3	26/12/11		
4	04/05/11		
5	01/01/04	01/08/04	-
6			
7	04/10/11	05/01/01	10 years, 9 months
8	01/06/07	01/06/07	
9	25/10/11	10/09/09	2 years, 1 month, 15 days
10	01/09/92	01/08/92	1 month
11	01/03/09	01/02/09	1 month
12	24/07/10		
13	12/01/12		
14			
15	20/02/90		
16	25/08/12		
17	01/06/12		
18	10/09/13	23/12/12	9 months

19	01/08/00		
20	01/10/09		
21	09/11/10		
22	11/11/10		
23	10/09/13		
24	03/08/13		
25	26/10/13		
26	01/03/13		
27	10/10/11	01/03/10	1 year, 7 months
28	01/10/05		
29	13/02/12	10/11/11	3 months
30	01/06/96	01/06/96	
31	05/01/14		
32	12/12/12		
33	30/05/12		
34			
35	09/08/05		
36	10/05/10		
37	01/01/03	01/01/03	
38			
39	01/12/81		
40	01/10/12		
41	20/02/13		
42	01/05/01		
43	01/12/12	01/08/12	4 months
44	01/01/90	01/01/90	
45	01/02/13	01/01/13	1 month
46			
47	10/02/09		
48	01/08/12		
49	15/01/13	25/10/12	3 months
50	19/11/12	19/11/12	
51			
52	01/09/12		
53	01/01/05		
54	01/06/11		
55			
56	01/12/09		

57	01/11/11		
58	15/08/83		
59	01/02/12	01/12/10	1 year, 3 months
60	01/10/98	24/12/99	
61	15/06/10		
62	01/06/06	01/05/06	1 months
63	22/10/10		
64	01/11/03		
65	15/06/13	01/12/11	1 year, 6 months
66	07/07/84		
67	01/10/81		
68	01/10/92		
69	01/06/12	01/04/10	2 years, 2 months
70	08/09/12		
71	01/03/88		
72	01/06/04		
73	19/04/08		
74			
75	17/06/12	17/06/12	
76	01/06/07	01/06/07	
77	01/06/05		
78	01/09/08	01/09/08	
79	01/08/10	01/05/09	9 months
80	01/10/11		
81	30/12/97	30/12/97	
82	15/11/97	01/11/97	2 weeks
83	01/08/11	01/06/11	2 months
84	01/06/09		
85	01/02/94	01/06/94	
86	15/06/08		
87	20/07/09		
88			
89	01/06/05	01/06/05	
90	01/02/82	01/02/82	
91	20/01/06		
92	01/11/13		
93	01/09/10	01/07/10	2 months
94	01/01/81		

95			
96			
97	01/07/95		
98	01/04/13		
99	01/01/97		
100	04/04/05	04/04/05	
101	01/08/09		
102	01/06/93		
103	04/06/05		
104			
105	01/01/09	01/06/09	
106	01/10/12		
107	01/01/00	01/01/00	
108	01/10/08	01/01/09	
109	05/02/14	26/12/12	1 year, 2 months
110	01/08/94		
111	01/01/00	01/01/01	
112	18/09/12	16/08/12	1 month
113	06/11/06	06/11/06	
114	06/06/97	06/05/97	1 month
115			
116	01/02/13	01/02/13	
117	22/12/12		
118	11/11/11		
119	01/03/11	01/12/13	
120	01/09/13	01/09/13	
121			
122	02/02/13	04/01/10	3 years, 1 month
123	05/06/08		
124	28/11/11		
125	10/02/13	10/02/13	
126	01/11/13		
127	01/01/01		
128	01/09/11	08/11/11	2 months
129	19/07/13	19/07/13	
130	15/09/13	03/03/13	6 months
131	25/05/14	30/12/00	13 years, 5 months
132	01/01/11	01/10/10	3 months

133	09/09/86		
134	01/02/01		
135	02/02/14		
136			
137	01/11/08		
138	08/03/14		
139	02/04/14	23/05/15	
140	20/12/13		
141	01/08/94	03/06/94	2 months
142	01/03/05	21/03/13	3 weeks
143		01/12/13	

Q.19 What was the first incident that made you aware you were being stalked?

Answered: 123 Skipped: 20

Answer	*n*	*%*
Digital contact or calls	56	39.16
Following and/or watching	43	30.07
Approached me; threats or damage	15	10.49
Received letter/package	9	6.29
Did not answer	20	13.99

Q.20 What was the last (i.e. most recent) incident of stalking you experienced?

Answered: 109 Skipped: 34

Answer	*n*	*%*
Digital contact or calls	39	27.27
Following and/or watching	29	20.28
Approached me; threats or damage	17	11.89
Received letter/package	1	0.70
Other (e.g. same person, on and off contact 2004-2008)	23	16.08
Did not answer	34	23.78

Q.21 Are you still being stalked?

Answered: 114 Skipped: 29

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	22	15.38
No	66	46.15
Don’t know	26	18.18
Did not answer	29	20.28

Q.22 If 'No', when did the stalking end? (month/year)

Answered: 64 Skipped: 79

	First Aware DD/MM/YY	First Began DD/MM/YY	End Date DD/MM/YY	Difference/Duration
1	01/06/04	01/01/04	01/04/08	6 months
2	01/02/13	12/02/13	24/02/13	3 weeks
3	26/12/11		19/08/12	1 year, 7 months, 3 weeks
4	04/05/11		10/09/09	5 months
5	01/01/04	01/08/04		11 years
6				
7	04/10/11	05/01/01		
8	01/06/07	01/06/07	13/04/11	4 years, 2 months, 1 week
9	25/10/11	10/09/09	10/06/13	1 year
10	01/09/92	01/08/92	01/10/92	2 months
11	01/03/09	01/02/09	01/05/09	2 months, 2 weeks
12	24/07/10		02/10/10	3 months
13	12/01/12		12/07/13	18 months
14				
15	20/02/90		31/10/10	23 years
16	25/08/12			18 months
17	01/06/12		15/08/12	2 months, 2 weeks
18	10/09/13	23/12/12		8 months
19	01/08/00		01/12/00	4 months
20	01/10/09		01/04/10	5 months
21	09/11/10		Don't know	
22	11/11/10		Don't know	
23	10/09/13			4 weeks
24	03/08/13		03/10/13	2 months
25	26/10/13			4 weeks
26	01/03/13			5 months
27	10/10/11	01/03/10	10/05/12	2 years
28	01/10/05		01/03/06	5 months
29	13/02/12	10/11/11		18 months
30	01/06/96	01/06/96	30/06/96	4 weeks
31	05/01/14			2 weeks
32	12/12/12			
33	30/05/12			20 months
34				

35	09/08/05			
36	10/05/10		10/11/10	5 months
37	01/01/03	01/01/03	01/01/06	3 years
38				
39	01/12/81			
40	01/10/12			1 year, 6 months
41	20/02/13			
42	01/05/01		01/10/03	2 years, 5 months
43	01/12/12	01/08/12	15/04/13	8 months
44	01/01/90	01/01/90	01/06/93	3 years, 6 months
45	01/02/13	01/01/13	01/02/13	5 weeks
46				
47	10/02/09		02/10/12	3 years
48	01/08/12			2 years
49	15/01/13	25/10/12		16 months
50	19/11/12	19/11/12		1 year
51				
52	01/09/12			3 months
53	01/01/05			5 years, 1 month, 1 week
54	1/06/11			2 years
55				
56	01/12/09		01/12/10	1 year
57	01/11/11		26/01/13	1 year, 3 months
58	15/08/83		01/12/84	1 year, 4 months
59	01/02/12	01/12/10		
60	01/10/98	24/12/99		4 years
61	15/06/10			
62	01/06/06	01/05/06	08/06/06	1 week
63	22/10/10		01/05/11	6 months
64	01/11/03		01/05/04	9 months
65	15/06/13	01/12/11		
66	07/07/84			8 months
67	01/10/81		01/02/82	5 months
68	01/10/92			
69	01/06/12	01/04/10	01/09/12	2 years, 1 month, 1 week
70	08/09/12			7 months
71	01/03/88		ongoing	25 years
72	01/06/04		04/04/10	5 years, 10 months

73	19/04/08		19/04/09	1 year
74				
75	17/06/12	17/06/12		
76	01/06/07	01/06/07	01/09/07	3 months
77	01/06/05			
78	01/09/08	01/09/08		5 years, 5 months, 1 week
79	01/08/10	1/05/09		3 years, 6 months
80	01/10/11			2 years
81	30/12/97	30/12/97		16 years, 1 month, 1 week
82	15/11/97	01/11/97	04/02/99	3 months
83	01/08/11	01/06/11	24/02/12	8 months
84	01/06/09		29/12/09	8 months
85	01/02/94	01/06/94	01/06/94	5 months
86	15/06/08		18/08/08	2 months
87	20/07/09			4 years, 1 month, 1 week.
88				
89	01/06/05	01/06/05	01/10/08	3 years, 4 months
90	01/02/82	01/02/82		1 year
91	20/01/06		15/09/06	9 months
92	01/11/13			3 months
93	01/09/10	01/07/10		
94	01/01/81		01/01/85	3 years
95				
96				
97	01/07/95		01/07/97	3 years
98	01/04/13			3 months
99	01/01/97			1 year
100	04/04/05	04/04/05	04/04/06	1 year
101	01/08/09			5 years
102	01/06/93		01/06/99	6 years
103	04/06/05			9 years
104				
105	01/01/09	01/06/09	30/06/09	6 months
106	01/10/12		01/01/14	1 year, 6 months
107	01/01/00	01/01/00	01/01/09	10 years, 1 month, 1 week
108	01/10/08	01/01/09		4 years, 6 months,
109	05/02/14	26/12/12		2 months
110	01/08/94		31/01/95	6 months

111	01/01/00	01/01/01	01/05/05	5 years
112	18/09/12	16/08/12		10 months
113	06/11/06	06/11/06		7 years
114	06/06/97	06/05/97	12/10/08	2 years
115				
116	01/02/13	01/02/13	31/03/13	4 weeks
117	22/12/12		19/2/14	1 year, 2 months
118	11/11/11			
119	01/03/11	01/12/13		2 years, 9 months
120	01/09/13	1/09/2013	11/12/13	4 months
121				
122	02/02/13	04/01/10		4 years
123	05/06/08		10/09/11	3 years, 3 months
124	28/11/11			2 years, 6 months.
125	10/02/13	10/02/13		2 years
126	01/11/13			4 months
127	01/01/01		01/06/01	6 months
128	01/09/11	08/11/11		
129	19/07/13	19/07/13	08/01/14	6 months
130	15/09/13	03/03/13		1 year
131	25/05/14	30/12/00		14 years
132	01/01/11	01/10/10		3 years
133	09/09/86		03/10/86	4 weeks
134	01/02/01		19/12/14	14 years
135	02/02/14		12/05/15	1 year, 3 months, 1 week
136				
137	01/11/08			7 years, 3 months, 3 weeks.
138	08/03/14		30/04/15	3 weeks
139	02/04/14	23/05/15		
140	20/12/13			
141	01/08/94	03/06/94	01/10/10	14 years
142	01/03/15	21/03/13	01/08/13	4 months, 2 weeks
143		01/12/13	01/01/14	4 weeks

Q.23 Please state how long the stalking continued/has continued (in weeks/months/years)

Answered: 106 Skipped: 37

Mean: 139.4 weeks (2 years 8 months) Min: 1 Week, Max: 25 Years

Answer	*n*	*%*
Less than two weeks	1	0.70

Less than two months	10	6.99
Less than one year	38	26.57
One year or more	20	13.99
Two years or more	24	16.78
Five years or more	9	6.29
Ten years or more	8	5.59
Did not answer	86	60.14

Q.24a If it is now over, how did the stalking end? (multi-response)

Answered: 88 Skipped: 55

Answer	*n*	*%*
Police warning	18	12.59
Conviction	4	2.8
Took legal action	10	6.99
Stalker imprisoned	4	2.8
Warned off by others	12	8.39
Stalker found someone else to go out with/stalk	7	4.90
Just stopped	9	6.29
Don't know	9	6.29
Other responses (open ended)	15	10.49
Did not answer	55	38.46

Q.24b Other responses/comments

- I left my home and moved away. He was my neighbour.
- Judgement partially in his favour in the Family Court.
- Left country.
- I moved a long distance away.
- Complaint to HREOC.
- I moved interstate.
- I closed down my website, erased all online evidence of myself and changed my phone number. I moved 6 months later.
- Left the state.
- I think they ran out of money.
- Changed my phone number and blocked from all social media.
- I had previously told the stalker that he should stay away from me.
- Changed my number to a silent phone number.
- Departed villa so may not have known where to find me.
- Ignored him repeatedly.
- Cut contact, blocked number, deleted fb, etc.

Q.25 How did you first meet your stalker? (e.g., ex-partner, work colleague, s/he was a stranger/ or met online)

Answered: 113 Skipped: 30

Answer	*n*	*%*
Family/friends (including neighbours)	24	16.78
Colleagues or organisation	37	25.87
Online	11	7.69
Partner	23	16.08

Stranger	13	9.09
Other	5	3.50
Did not answer	30	20.98

Q.26 If your stalker was an ex-partner, how long were you in a relationship for? (weeks/months/years)

Answered: 48 Skipped: 95

Mean: 139.4 weeks (2 years 8 months)

Answer	*n*	*%*
Less than two weeks	0	0
Less than two months	0	0
Less than one year	16	11.18
One year or more	9	6.29
Two years or more	16	11.18
Five years or more	4	2.79
Ten years or more	3	2.09
Did not answer	86	60.14

Q.27 If your stalker was an ex-partner, did you experience domestic violence during the relationship?

Answered: 85 Skipped: 58

Answer	*n*	*%*
Not an ex-partner	32	22.38
No	11	7.69
Yes – physical violence	1	0.69
Yes – emotional violence (e.g. possessiveness, put down)	22	15.38
Yes - both emotional and physical violence	19	13.29
Did not answer	58	40.56

Q.28 What was the trigger for the stalking? (e.g., end of a relationship, rejection)

Answered: 106 Skipped: 37

Answer	*n*	*%*
Don't know	23	16.08
Breakdown of relationship	42	29.37
Rejection	12	8.39
Mental illness/paranoia	4	2.80
I showed him kindness	4	2.80
Jealousy/insecurity	7	4.90
Chance meeting	3	2.10
Other	11	7.69
Did not answer	37	25.87

Q.29 Towards the beginning, how often did the stalker contact you?

Answered: 108 Skipped: 35

Answer	*n*	*%*
Once per day or more	64	44.76
More than three times per week	19	13.29
Once per week	16	11.19
Once per month	2	1.40
Less than once each month	7	4.90
Did not answer	35	24.48

Q.30 Overall, on average, how often does/did the stalker contact you?

Answered: 109 Skipped: 34

Answer	*n*	*%*
Once per day or more	38	26.57
More than three times per week	27	18.88
Once per week	23	16.08
Once per month	7	4.90
Less than once each month	14	9.79
Did not answer	34	23.78

Q.31a Please indicate any stalking methods you have experienced, and please add any further methods of stalking we may have missed. (multi-response)

Answered: 118 Skipped: 25

Answer	*n*	*%*
Followed you	74	51.75
Sent you unsolicited letters/other written material	53	37.06
Made unsolicited phone calls to you	68	47.55
Sent you unsolicited e-mails	47	32.87
Sent you unsolicited text messages	62	43.46
Sent unsolicited picture messages to you	16	11.19
Tried to communicate in other ways against your will	66	46.15
Photographed you without your agreement	21	14.69
Abused your pet(s)	10	6.99
Threatened to harm your pet(s)	12	8.39
Vandalised your home	15	10.49
Vandalised your car	13	9.09
Vandalised other property/destroyed something you loved	16	11.19
Harassed your family/friends/neighbours/colleagues	52	36.36
Physically assaulted you	19	13.29
Threatened to physically assault you	32	22.38
Sexually assaulted you	12	8.39

Threatened to sexually assault you	19	13.29
Harassed your children	13	9.09
Threatened to harm your children	11	7.69
Broke into your home	23	16.08
Visited your home	51	35.66
Visited your workplace/school/university	53	37.06
Spied on you	63	44.06
Stood outside your home	52	36.36
Stood outside your workplace/school/university	45	31.47
Left unwanted items for you to find	28	19.58
Turned up at places but had no business being there	60	41.96
Sent you 'presents' (e.g. flowers)	32	22.38
Manipulated you and/or others	51	35.66
Spread lies about you	53	37.06
Violated a protection/restraining order	24	16.78

Q.31b Number of stalking methods mentioned by respondents

Answered: 118 Skipped: 25

Answer	*n*	*%*
One or more methods of stalking	11	7.69
Three or more methods of stalking	6	4.20
Five or more methods of stalking	35	24.48
Ten or more methods of stalking	66	46.15
Did not answer	25	17.48

Q.31c Other comments.

- Unsolicited Facebook messages to me and my friends. He would come into my work and physically hand me love letters.
- To continue this abuse and stalking behaviours, he actually took out a good behaviour order against me when I went to him and complained of his abuse. I had to go to court and accept the order or go to trial. I accepted the order because I didn't want to engage with him at any level - I just wanted to get away from him. This was a deliberate manipulation so that he could continue to assault me without fear of being stopped.
- Made endless complaints and allegations about me to police, Centrelink, school, my therapist, harassed my solicitors, harassed and threatened my friends, made false allegations about my brother and had him harassed by the pics too, tried to have me committed to a mental institution (twice), sexually abused our children when on access, tried to bribe our children, 'leased' our home to his accountant for one dollar so when we were able to go home we got removed and abused by the police because his accountant was a legal tenant and had more rights than the children and I to our own home.
- Whether he committed any of the other things listed I don't know. He probably did.
- Threatened to jump from highrise, hanging out the window. told police he would only talk to me, I had to go in to the room with plain uniform police standing just outside the room door and try to talk him down.
- Threatened to lie to police to have me arrested for nonexistent crime.
- Threatened new partner. Accessed my bank, credit card, Qantas and many other accounts.
- Threatened new partner; threatened to kill himself.
- Threatened my mother.
- He would be outside my bedroom window at night. He never verbally threatened to physically or sexually assault me but that made me very scared he would. I was just a kid. His would threaten me when he wanted to know something - like who I was dating or where I was when he couldn't find me. His threat was always, "I can find out - just like that" and he would click his fingers. So his threat was, I'm always watching you and asking people about you.

- Threatening suicide if I didn't resume friendship.
- Phone call - only classical music no speech.
- Tried to get into my home.
- Hacked my computer, tracked my car and phone via GPS.
- Spread lies about fathering my children years after we had broken up and I hadn't seen him at all after the break up.
- He would park his car blocking my car in so I had to speak to him.
- Entered my parents' home and photographed them/their vehicles, sent pornography.
- Actually harmed child. Made legal threats. Did martial arts outside my home. Uses family law to continue this. Broke into my car. Had me followed by another person. Had police do a safety check on my child. Stole property.
- Threatened to kill himself. Poisoned himself in front of me.
- Yes , threatened my next partner , assaulted him and our baby son he was holding at the time.
- Followed new partner to his workplace.
- Threatened to kill himself if I did not speak with him.
- Threatened my children. Attempted to have my eldest son charged with stalking after he chased him from out front of my home.
- Threatened new partner, vandalised partner's car, had another person make threatening phone calls, left good bye card and bullet at my door, threatened to commit suicide, changed locks on my new apartment.
- Tried to become friends with everyone I know and interact with on social media, including family members.
- Inappropriate phone calls, some sexual others random.
- Threatened to commit suicide.
- Fake Facebook profile trying to add me as a friend.
- Keeps driving past my car or parks nearby so I see him.
- Used deception to obtain contact details.
- Watched through windows.
- Approached me when I was with my new partner and harassed us both.
- Flicking light switches from his home at night to get my attention. Masturbating in his bedroom window when he would see me in my home.

Q.32a Does/did the stalker harass you via the Internet?

Answered: 111 Skipped: 32

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	61	42.66
No	51	35.66
Did not answer	32	22.38

Q.32b Open-ended responses about Internet stalking.

Answered: 55 Skipped: 88

Answer	*n*	*%*
Emails	11	20.00
Facebook messages	6	10.91
Twitter	3	5.45
Google	2	3.85
Skype	2	3.85

Q.33 Does/did your stalker harass you from overseas?

Answered: 111 Skipped: 32

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	7	4.90
No	104	72.73
Did not answer	32	22.38

Q.34 While being stalked, how frightened does/did your stalker make you feel?

Answered: 112 Skipped: 31

Answer	*n*	*%*
Not frightened at all	2	1.40
A little frightened	14	9.79
Somewhat frightened	45	31.47
Very frightened	51	35.66
Did not answer	31	21.68

Q.35a Not all stalking victims are taken seriously from the outset. Did any of the following apply to you? (multi-response)

Answered: 104 Skipped: 39

Answer	*n*	*%*
Was told I was over-reacting/being paranoid	45	31.47
Did not want to go to police for fear of being ignored/laughed at	40	27.97
People said I was lucky to have the attention	11	7.69
The police did not take me seriously	26	18.18
Family or friends did not take me seriously	37	25.87
Thought I was going mad	31	21.68
None of the above	27	18.88
Did not answer	39	27.27

Q.35b Comments

- Although police took it seriously, I was told by them that it had become a problem because i'd been 'too nice to him' as I had politely replied to his first love letter. Sorry policeman, none of this was my fault.
- No one seemed to care. no one offered to help me.
- Because he worked at the Grammar School police thought he was extremely credible and took his lies and allegations seriously and harassed me on his behalf and believed he was the victim not the children and I. Police thought he was extremely credible.
- His family told me it was my fault when i asked them to tell him to stop.
- I was taken seriously.
- Other family/friends supportive.
- Went to the counsellor at uni - she said she wasn't qualified for my ordeal. Went to the university Chancellor and they basically accused me of asking for the attention.
- Friends saw it early and they were ones to call it stalking. My parents took longer to see it. Police told me I couldn't make a formal complaint unless he attacked me.
- Too scared to mention it because i was in a relationship with him all be it an abusive ine it was just part of the abuse
- I couldn't sleep or work and lost my house and a lot of friends and family.
- I was afraid of not being taken seriously or being blamed so I kept it quiet.
- I didn't want to make a fuss, thought I could handle it myself.
- I thought (and was told) stalkers are either strangers met online, or from a romantic relationship gone bad.
- Police would always assume he was my ex-boyfriend. Police would usually say "why don't you just leave Facebook?", even though the stalking had nothing to do with Facebook! They would treat each report as a standalone incident, even though the stalking was cumulative. It was not until a detective was assigned to the case that the police began to treat it seriously.
- Police refused to talk to witnesses and said I was being paranoid.
- Told I was over-reacting by chamber magistrate (they'll turn up eventually) when he failed to return children.
- Was told "He just likes you and wants to ask you out".
- Police took me seriously but laws were not available at the time. The allowed me to leave the police station through a rear door while occupying him at reception.
- He showered me with expensive gifts, I was star struck.

- After he broke into my home and masturbated on my bed the police took it very seriously.
- When applying for a DVPO as recommended by police the magistrate made me feel that I was over-reacting.
- No it was a serious matter and at all times treated that way by police and all that were aware. ie. family (other) neighbours friends etc.
- Can't prove anything so can't report.
- I was worried I would get his partner hurt or killed.
- Police said I was inviting the unwanted attention.

Q.36a What do you feel was the most frightening (i.e., worst) incident of stalking you experienced?

Answered: 107 Skipped: 36

Answer	*n*	*%*
Fear or hiding or a sense of being paralysed	27	18.88
Threats (of harm to self or others)	29	20.28
Constant contact or intrusion	39	27.27
Loss of reputation or identity	4	2.80
Powerlessness/Not really knowing what they wanted	6	4.20
Other	2	1.40
Did not answer	36	25.17

Q.36b Comments

- He found me on Facebook even though I don't wear a name tag at work, do not have my work listed on Facebook or share any mutual Facebook friends.
- The continuous spraying of poisons at me. It was so thick in the house, I thought I would die from it. He sprayed specifically where I was in the house - he knew where I was at all times.
- Having the bolt loosened in the steering assembly of my boyfriend's car. If we had been travelling at speed we would have been killed. We were very lucky!!! Also, having our house watched constantly and being followed wherever we went.
- Pictures.
- When he began threatening my physical well-being.
- Receiving emails that implied he was going to self-harm and it was my fault, and that he wouldn't stop contacting me until he got what he wanted.
- He turns up at all places I go and makes sure I see him.
- When he turned up on the tram I was on.
- The stalker being at the coffee shop I have attended every wed for the last 4 years. This happened on a number of occasions. The fact that he was deliberately there to upset me.
- Verbal abuse (twice). Knowing where I go and also waiting for me in his car when I arrive home.
- Drunken voice mail.
- When he arrived at a friend’s house at 2am yelling for me then followed me into my car, verbally abused me and pulled my handbrake while I was driving.
- He came into my house with a (small knife) and was waving it at me.
- That it was out of my control. No matter how many times I said leave me alone it made no difference.
- Death threat.
- Used to be watched through my bedroom window late at night.
- Waking up to find him in my bed.
- When he sent me a text message abusing me, calling me a tramp, telling me I should look hard in the mirror, that he felt sorry for me, additionally telling me to stop lying to myself about him, and that every morning when I woke up I would regret it, and one day I wasn't going to feel anything anymore. Minutes later he followed this up by banging on my door, which I ignored. He came back several times that night banging on the door.
- He turned up at my home at 11pm, knocked on the door. We turned off all of the lights and hid and he loitered around the house, trying to find a way in for close to two hours. He then proceeded to slide numerous photos of himself exposed under the door along with a horribly detailed, graphic letter.
- Using my daughter’s photos and threatening to use them by putting them on porn websites.
- She was infinitely wealthier than I was/am. So I knew that if a legal fight began, then I could not really compete. As for a single incident, it was when she contacted my boss via email. This freaked me out completely because it was clear she was not going to let go on her own, and I needed to do something.
- Crossing road on foot and finding her giving way to me and revving her car. I thought she might run me over.

- The constant intrusion into every aspect of my life. Most frightening was going to see my niece and god daughter on a number of occasions.
- Text message at beginning of stalking detailing where I was and what I was wearing at 7 in the morning when I was at a practice and could not see the person.
- I once had a petrol bomb placed in my car.
- The letters where he threatened to kill himself. I didn't believe he would really hurt me, but felt that it was possible he'd hurt himself.
- Death threats.
- It was scary when he came to my house, when he would try to separate me from my friends during nights out, when he would know things about me/what I was doing that he shouldn't know.
- Him being outside my bedroom or following me at night when I was by myself. Him turning up at places where there seems no way he could have known I was there. Him chasing me for a decade. I was most scared when I was alone. Even now I get that feeling.
- Threats of being run over by his car.
- Underwear stolen off my clothes line, then left on my front door step with semen in them. The stalker knocked on the door- so he knew when I was home and was hiding nearby to see my reaction. After the first time this happened I talked to my elderly neighbour. We swapped clothes (ie I put his big old man shirts on my line) and borrowed my neighbour's bull mastiff for a few days. The big mastiff dog barked up a storm whenever anyone approached.
- He stole my daughter and tried to run me off the road.
- All of it.
- Him banging on my door, trying to get in at about 2 am, yelling that he knew I was home, and that he wanted to have sex with me.
- The first time I was stalked it was by a guy one of my neighbours knew. I was a young single mother of a little girl & couldn't afford a home phone (no mobiles at that time). One night I had locked up & went to go to bed, my bedroom light was out & I was naked about to get into pjs. The neighbours security light came one & I could see the silhouette of a man opening my unlocked bedroom window to climb inside. I knew if he got in I was in trouble. I grabbed a very bright, heavy, metal torch a friend had given me for security/self defence because of the stalking. I went & stood next to the window, still naked & shaking. I ripped back the corner of the curtain, snapped the torch on as I did it shining it in his face & shouted "What the fuck do you think you're doing?!!!" Luckily the guy bolted. I didn't get a look at him, I was too scared to look. After that I was too scared for my daughter to stay at my place if I was alone in case the guy got in & I couldn't protect her.
- Having to see her at work.
- Waiting at my car after night shift.
- The following is about a different stalker. When I was 19, I was walking through a park at 4pm when I passed a man in his mid 30s, taller than me and with a solid, slightly overweight build, going in the opposite direction. As I passed him I did notice him staring at me however didn't worry too much as we weren't going the same way. As I got to the road and had walked up for a little bit a man driving a car pulled up next to me and said, "there is a guy behind you, he is following you. I'm going to see if I can find any police in *the shopping/cafe area I was heading toward 5 minutes away*" and drove off. I looked behind me and saw the same guy from the park and noticed he had a very fast, intended stride towards me. I started to panic, tried to increase my pace and fortunately came across a lady gardening. I was very upset, he could see me talking to her and pointing at him and made a turn into a different street. I had to make a police report, where the policeman told me I should try and drive to places or have someone with me, despite it being broad daylight at 4 in the afternoon along a busy road. I consider this worse than the recent stalking incident because that man who followed me made me feel complete fear that day, a blind panic where I wanted to throw up. I will continue this survey with my recent experience of stalking, the same one I started the survey with.
- Having him turn up uninvited and against my wishes at places he knew I frequented.
- One of my stalkers created a fake account on RSVP.com. They used this to befriend me and get my photo. I had no idea what was happening until my photo was posted on their website and they boasted about what they had done. A challenge was then put out publicly for their fans to find out and publicise my name, address, child's school and employer details. They wanted to hunt me down in person.
- He rang my work and threatened to kill me. So I left the state. But he rang when I was visiting my Mum.
- I didn't know what they wanted and they kept finding me wherever I went so I couldn't get away and then I lost everything including my reputation. The worst was when I was getting dressed and saw the slashes in my underwear that I pulled from the drawer and they has cut the crotch out completely and taken it away.
- The man followed me to my work (a retail store) and wouldn't leave me alone. I became very frightened and hid out the back and my boss asked him to leave. He then threatened her, and when security was called punched the security guards and broke a lot of things. He kept saying they couldn't stop him from seeing me.
- When he waited for me to finish work and asked to 'talk'. He said he would take me home but drove me around for hours instead, held me against my will for the purpose of verbally abusing me for hours whilst in the car with him. I didn't know if he would physically hurt me or not during these hours so remained mute, fearing I would antagonise him and escalate the abuse whilst in the car. Didn't know if I would end up dead by the end of this night.

- Waited outside workplace after leaving countless threatening voicemails, punched me in arm when I came outside.
- The day I told my manager about it (discussed in the previous section) when I saw just how obsessed the stalker was and how unhinged he was emotionally. It made me frightened for my personal safety.
- He appeared in my back yard when I was hanging out washing. I did not hear him approach, he had to have been in my back yard for hours for the dog not to have barked announcing his arrival.
- My personal details were put on public display on a website asking other people to start harassing me.
- Threatening phone calls and being followed.
- When I was walking with a male friend my stalker was walking past us, not noticing we were there. I very subtly pointed him out to my friend and he looked up and saw me just as I was doing it. My stalker then threatened to kill both me and my friend, yelled abuse at us and followed us to my workplace. When we went out the back to hide he stood out the front of my house (my workplace was just across the road) and sat there for quite some time waiting for us to come back.
- Again, everything is contextual. The worst and most frightening incident for me was when I received a handwritten letter at my new home address, which I thought he did not know about. This is in the context of him having been found hiding in my parents' backyard looking for me, and of him having had me under surveillance at another home. I was also pretty frightened when he sent photographs of a basement where he said I was going to live and that he would never let me go.
- Hard to choose ... probably threatening to take my child, followed by threatening to send a hit man after me.
- Feeling as though I couldn't say anything without it being taken out of context and used against me - all the time.
- My bike got stolen, and the same day I started receiving text messages from him again. One of them was specifically about how he'd seen my bike. This was after a long period of no contact. I thought he'd moved on, disappeared. I'd moved since the last contact and I immediately felt unsafe, as though he was around and watching me or knew where I was.
- The second year in a row that he contacted me on the same date (my birthday). That even two years after I left him I was still on his mind was frightening.
- When a friend found him hiding outside my home.
- Being confined to my bedroom for days without contact with anyone else.
- That when I finally got the courage to go to the police, they didn't do anything, it wasn't taken seriously and said there was nothing they could do. And when I was actually confronted by him at my house he barged straight in and got really physical, said that I was teasing him and giving him signals that I wanted to have sex with him (which could not be further from the truth) then when I said no, and pushed him away and slapped him in the face, he started throwing furniture around the house.
- Actual assault of my partner and one of my children whom he had kicked out, and then forcibly removed from my care. He was 12 at the time and the police refused to charge him, said for me to calm down, didn't believe that he was stalking me, and when we attempted to get restraining I was told that I was making vexatious claims.
- After calling through the night, he showed up on my doorstep and made threats, demanding I got in his car. I did, and he sped around while verbally abusing me. Finally I told him to take me home. We got to my turn and instead of turning he just drove faster. He wouldn't stop the car and kept driving further away from my house. I opened the door while he was driving and jumped out and ran home, severely distressed.
- Where I felt unable to leave my place of work because he would follow me, I couldn't work on the counter or clean the restaurant because he would come to order something and 'talk'. I couldn't go home because I walked, and did not want him to follow me. I felt like I was under siege.
- When he showed up to my house to propose? When he got drunk on a weekday, made out with a random woman and then gave her my phone number instead of his own? When he called me to abusively scream how he was going to tell all of our mutual friends everything I'd ever said about them in confidence? Take your pick, they're all pretty messed up.
- When he appeared to be going to run down my new partner in his car.
- The perpetrator entering the house of my partner without invitation and after being repeatedly asked not to visit unannounced. They then proceeded to try and break into a bedroom that we were both sitting in and pretended to leave the house. They then attempted to strangle my female partner and assaulted me when I intervened. Violation and dehumanization.
- Talking to him on the phone, I heard a gunshot and he told me he had shot himself. I called the police and he was arrested with several (at the time) illegal guns. He told me he would get me for that.
- Not knowing if he was going to be waiting for me e.g. after work. Waking up to a missed calls and texts messages ranting about how much he loved me and asking where I was.
- Being followed back to my room in the dark and confronted.
- Pretending to be someone else on Facebook to set up a meeting (I believed it was an old friend trying to get in touch).
- He sent me letters saying that he would ruin my life and that my parents did not love me and threatened to kill himself.

- He was supposed to be living overseas in Singapore. I was out at a club on the Gold Coast and he walked straight out in front of me, I didn't even know he was in the country let alone in the same place at the same time and in that close proximity to me. I went back through the club photos later that night and found one of him staring at the back of my head - which was about an hour earlier than when I'd actually realised he was there. It really scared me that we were in the same place at the same time and I didn't even know he was there.
- Him being in my house when I slept and leaving me gifts.
- When I discovered he was stalking my 16 yr old son.
- When he would send me pictures of places I had been, without knowing he was there, and would talk about things I'd done.
- The fact I had made it clear his attention was unwelcome and unacceptable yet he persisted. I was afraid of what he would do next, that he would continue to follow me, or try and enter my house.
- Having moved to a secure high-rise apartment he gained access and grabbed me around the throat one night after I exited the lifts.
- Too many to list individually.
- I returned to my dorm room, and walked into the bathroom, where he was hiding behind the shower curtain (unsure how he gained access), then when I tried to escape out the door, he held a knife to my throat and told me I was staying with him so we could talk. It was terrifying.
- When I found out she was moving close to where I live.
- Not knowing who, when, what. Is he outside waiting for me? Being paranoid and afraid where I never have been afraid before.
- When he knew what perfume I wore the previous day.
- Being told that he was coming "to take me back" and being sent a copy of his airline confirmation.
- Nightmares - picturing his violent threats.
- the fact that he had found out where I was and he was in relatively close proximity geographically
- The amount of people that not only took his side, but actively helped him stalk and harass me. That was extremely disturbing.
- He was a mild stalker by all accounts by the most frightening thing for me was the fear of the unknown, I did not know how he would react when I sought intervention.
- I had a barbecue at my house and she came with her boyfriend. She had not been invited. She went to the bathroom inside my house and I am almost certain she went through things in my room.
- Threats to get me fired and kicked out of school as well as defamatory accusations about me made to my boss, co-workers, the university I am studying as well as to my parents and friends all via email and phone contact.
- Seeing him near my house, when I had never given him the address.
- Being watched while out with friends which made me feel extremely uncomfortable
- When he was on the run from police and I had recently moved to a city where I lived alone and didn't have any close friends.
- The laws feel a bit retrospective. He never did anything bad to me and it was like for any punishment to happen I had to wait for that to occur. He was in a psychiatric ward for a few weeks near where I lived but they moved him away because they were concerned about that. I don't think he's the type to harm me, just a bit deluded.
- When his friends told me he'd been coming to my house and sitting outside for a period of time.
- Stalker jumped on my car and tried to grab the keys out through the window. Police actually caught him in the act and restrained him. They suggested getting an AVO when I spoke with them.
- Stalker in my room at night time whilst I was sleeping.
- Sometimes confronts me face to face after waiting for me at my work place, just says hi but it creeps me out. He seems to know the precise time I arrive/leave my office and I am trapped.
- He physically assaulted me. I thought I was going to die.
- He told me he would hunt me down like a dog and I was extremely uncomfortable for a few days.
- Being watched.
- Being threatened with violence.
- Knowing that the person was hanging around the building at night when I had to enter and leave the building. Fearing that I would not be able to open/unlock my front door fast enough to be inside and have the door locked again in case he tried to grab me or enter my apartment. This was in relation to a previous incident of stalking - not the most recent one.
- When he broke into my house after I was on a date with someone else, when I returned home, I found his cigarettes and a book in my cupboard. When searching the house, he came behind me from a room where he was hiding and said "what are you looking for". A few weeks prior he had come over unannounced when I was going on a date, when I returned from the date he was still at my house, and this is when he sexually assaulted me.
- When he told me that he would never let me date anyone else and would make sure that I didn't.
- When he started peeping in my windows at night. Appearing out of nowhere if I was outside, and trying to engage in conversation.
- A visit where she picked up a knife and pointed it at me.
- Threatened to assault me.

- Being followed home.
- Person attending the home uninvited while family was home.

Q.37 While being stalked, do/did you fear that you would be physically hurt?

Answered: 112 Skipped: 31

Answer	*n*	*%*
No	29	20.28
Yes – I feared the stalker would physically hurt me	42	29.37
Yes – I feared the stalker would physically hurt others	5	3.50
Yes – I feared that I and others would be hurt	36	25.17
Did not answer	31	21.68

Q.38 While being stalked, does/did your stalker harass others? (multi-response)

Answered: 107 Skipped: 36

Answer	*n*	*%*
No, just me	42	29.37
Yes – my friends	38	26.57
Yes – my children	12	8.39
Yes – other family members	24	16.78
Yes – my partner	12	8.39
Yes – my neighbours	8	5.59
Yes – my work colleagues	15	10.49
Yes - others	14	9.79
Did not answer	36	25.17

Q.39 While being stalked, does/did your stalker threaten to kill himself/herself or self-harm?

Answered: 108 Skipped: 35

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	31	21.68
No	78	54.55
Did not answer	35	24.48

Q.40 While being stalked, does/did your stalker try to find information about you from others? (multi-response)

Answered: 105 Skipped: 38

Answer	*n*	*%*
No	23	16.08
Yes	82	57.34
– my children	11	7.69
– my partner	5	3.50
– other family members	25	17.48
– my friends	51	35.66

– my work colleagues	33	23.08
– my neighbours	16	11.19
- others	23	16.08
Did not answer	38	26.57

Q.41a While being stalked, does/did anyone help your stalker?

Answered: 111 Skipped: 32

Answer	*n*	*%*
No, s/he operated alone	54	37.76
Yes – people helped him or her knowingly	18	12.59
Yes – people helped him or her unwittingly	32	22.38
Yes – people were hired to obtain/collect information	5	3.50
Don't Know	2	1.40
Did not answer	32	22.38

Q.41b Comments

(Qualitative data provided in Comments)

Answer	*n*	*%*
The stalker's friends/family/neighbours	21	14.69
My friends/family/neighbours	16	11.19
Organisations/Professionals	1	0.70

Q.42a If the stalker obtained information about you, where did they get it from? (multi-response)

Answered: 98 Skipped: 45

Answer	*n*	*%*
The stalker did not obtain information about me	15	10.49
Family/friends	39	27.27
Neighbours	7	4.90
Work	19	13.29
Internet	39	27.27
Public records	9	6.29
Bank	2	1.40
Doctor/dentist	3	2.10
Don't know where they got information about me	27	18.88

Q.42b Comments

- My computer and phones being hacked.
- He went through my personal letters and photos and documents.
- Some information was definitely from online, but I don't know how he found things like my home address.
- Court processes - I am now ordered to tell him where I live as we have a child. He also was given access to my medical, banking, counselling etc records.
- Found out I received the disability support pension from a psychologist, his friend ,who worked for Centrelink. This info was used in a court of law in a custody matter re my step children in my next relationship. We got custody despite this.
- He broke into my home and stole information.

- He stole my mail and went through my garbage.
- He watched me and knew my movements.

Q.43 – Q.48 are 'Take a Break' questions and assist in controlling for social desirability.

SECTION FOUR: RESPONSES FROM OTHERS

Q.49 What is the extent of legal proceedings in your stalking case? (multi-response)

Answered: 108 Skipped: 35

Answer	*n*	*%*
Unreported	42	29.37
Sought advice	10	6.99
Criminal justice system action	56	39.16
Did not answer	35	24.48

Q.50 If you have been to court, how many prosecutions have you been involved in relating to your stalker?

Answered: 17 Skipped: 126

Answer	*n*	*%*
Once	4	2.80
Twice	7	4.90
Three times	1	0.70
More than three times	5	3.50

Q.51a If your case did not proceed to court, please indicate why:

Answered: 75 Skipped: 68

Answer	*n*	*%*
I never reported being stalked	44	30.77
Insufficient evidence	5	3.50
I withdrew my complaint	1	0.70
Stalker was warned/cautioned by the police	11	7.69
The case was discontinued	2	1.40
Don't know	1	0.70

Q.51b Other comments

- He stopped pursuing me
- The Police said that they have limited resources and more serious matters to attend to.
- Stalker left Qld.
- Still in investigation phase.
- No need.
- Police were so rude and uncaring they did nothing over 25 times.
- Stalking ceased after workplace action.
- The suspect was supposed to be warned by police but it did not happen.
- When I went to make a formal complaint, they literally said that text messages and phone calls weren't enough and I didn't have any physical evidence, so I walked out of the police station.
- There were no stalker laws at the time.
- No one believed me or took/takes it seriously, continues to this day.

- Police reluctant to do anything.
- At the time stalking a former partner was not a crime.
- I moved.
- He moved to Singapore, I thought it would stop once he was overseas.
- A 2nd set of charges were withdrawn.
- I'm too scared to confront her and the issue.
- We are in different countries.
- Police said there is nothing they can do so I have not pursued it in fear it will entertain my stalker.
- I spoke with the University and they intervened. I did not think it was serious enough for the police.
- Was told I didn't have a case.
- Police are waiting for me to tell them to go ahead.
- He stopped.
- No charges were pressed.

Q.52 Has the media been involved in your case?

Answered: 108 Skipped: 35

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	4	2.80
No	104	75.52
Did not answer	35	24.48

Q.53 If so, who initiated media involvement?

Answered: 3 Skipped: 140

Answer	*n*	*%*
I approached the media	1	0.70
The media approached me	2	1.40
Someone else put me in touch with the media	0	0.00
Did not answer	140	97.90

Q.54a If so, did the media help you?

Answered: 4 Skipped: 139

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	0	0.00
No	4	2.80
Unsure	0	0.00
Did not answer	139	97.20

Q.54b Comments

- They just heard what happened when he tried to abduct me at work so reported on it briefly in the paper. I didn't think it was helpful because he was still on the run and might have been upset if he saw it.
- It was just because I work in the media so they reported an attempted abduction occurred, but didn't name me or anything, just a brief mention. I didn't really want them to do anything on it.

SECTION FIVE: YOUR RESPONSES TO STALKING

Q.55 Did you personally inform the stalker that their behaviour was unwanted?

Answered: 108 Skipped: 35

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	87	60.84
No	21	14.69
Did not answer	35	24.48

Q.56 If yes, how did you inform them of this? (e.g. face to face, phone, text message, personal letter)

Answered: 84 Skipped: 59

Answer	*n*	*%*
Digital contact or call	38	26.57
Letter	4	2.80
Face to face	37	25.87
Other	5	3.50
Did not answer	59	41.26

Q.57 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 59 Skipped: 86

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	11	7.69
Early	6	4.20
Waited a while	7	4.90
Late	6	4.20
Very late	29	20.28
Did not answer	86	60.14

Q.58 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 84 Skipped: 59

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	5	3.50
Helpful	5	3.50
No difference	30	20.98
Unhelpful	20	13.99
Made things worse	24	16.78
Did not answer	59	41.26

Q.59 Do/did you keep a diary or log of the stalker's actions?

Answered: 106 Skipped: 37

Answer	*n*	*%*

Yes	39	27.27
No	67	46.85
Did not answer	37	25.87

Q.60 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 32 Skipped: 111

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	12	8.39
Early	2	1.40
Waited a while	3	2.10
Late	2	1.40
Very late	13	9.09
Did not answer	111	77.62

Q.61 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 40 Skipped: 103

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	0	0.00
Helpful	6	4.20
No difference	24	16.78
Unhelpful	6	4.20
Made things worse	4	2.80
Did not answer	103	72.03

Q.62 Do/did you hold onto any evidence left by your stalker? (e.g. letters, answerphone, tapes, phone records, items sent by the stalker)

Answered: 106 Skipped: 37

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	56	39.16
No	50	34.97
Did not answer	37	25.87

Q.63 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 38 Skipped: 105

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	14	9.79
Early	3	2.10
Waited a while	4	2.80
Late	2	1.40
Very late	15	10.49
Did not answer	105	73.43

Q.64 If so, did you later provide any evidence to the police or court service?

Answered: 53 Skipped: 90

Answer	*n*	%
Yes	25	17.48
No	28	19.58
Did not answer	90	62.94

Q.65 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 47 Skipped: 96

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	3	2.10
Helpful	11	7.69
No difference	25	17.48
Unhelpful	5	3.50
Made things worse	3	2.10
Did not answer	96	67.13

Q.66 Do/did you try to get evidence of your stalker in action? (e.g. by taking photos of him or her outside your house)

Answered: 106 Skipped: 37

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	27	18.88
No	79	55.24
Did not answer	37	25.87

Q.67 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 21 Skipped: 122

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	6	4.20
Early	1	0.70
Waited a while	2	1.40
Late	2	1.40
Very late	10	6.99
Did not answer	122	85.31

Q.68 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 26 Skipped: 117

Answer	*n*	%
Very helpful	2	1.40
Helpful	3	2.10
No difference	15	10.49
Unhelpful	3	2.10
Made things worse	3	2.10
Did not answer	117	81.82

Q.69 Did you change your mobile/telephone number?

Answered: 103 Skipped: 40

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	31	21.68
No	72	50.35
Did not answer	40	27.97

Q.70 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 28 Skipped: 115

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	3	2.10
Early	0	0
Waited a while	2	1.40
Late	1	0.70
Very late	22	15.38
Did not answer	115	80.42

Q.71 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 31 Skipped: 112

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	3	2.10
Helpful	10	6.99
No difference	15	10.49
Unhelpful	1	0.70
Made things worse	2	1.40
Did not answer	112	78.32

Q.72 Did you change your e-mail address?

Answered: 105 Skipped: 38

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	25	17.48
No	81	56.64
Did not answer	38	26.57

Q.73 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 18 Skipped: 125

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	2	1.40
Early	0	0
Waited a while	1	0.70
Late	1	0.70
Very late	14	9.79
Did not answer	125	87.41

Q.74 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 24 Skipped: 119

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	3	2.10
Helpful	6	4.20
No difference	11	7.69
Unhelpful	1	0.70
Made things worse	3	2.10
Did not answer	119	83.22

Q.75 Did you alter your activity online? (i.e. took Facebook down or blocked the stalker)

Answered: 104 Skipped: 39

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	65	45.45
No	39	27.27
Did not answer	39	27.27

Q.76 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 46 Skipped: 97

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	13	9.09
Early	1	0.70
Waited a while	4	2.80
Late	7	4.90
Very late	21	14.69
Did not answer	97	67.83

Q.77 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 64 Skipped: 79

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	9	6.29
Helpful	18	12.59
No difference	25	17.48
Unhelpful	7	4.90
Made things worse	5	3.50
Did not answer	79	55.24

Q.78 Did you change your social habits (e.g. did not go to local pub, tried different coffee shop)

Answered: 104 Skipped: 39

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	74	51.75
No	30	20.98
Did not answer	39	27.27

Q.79 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 54 Skipped: 89

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	16	11.19
Early	3	2.10
Waited a while	5	3.50
Late	8	5.59
Very late	22	15.38
Did not answer	89	62.24

Q.80 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 71 Skipped: 72

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	7	4.90
Helpful	14	9.79
No difference	41	28.67
Unhelpful	4	2.80
Made things worse	5	3.50
Did not answer	72	50.35

Q.81 Did you inform the police that you were being stalked?

Answered: 104 Skipped: 39

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	53	37.06
No	51	35.66
Did not answer	39	27.27

Q.82 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 46 Skipped: 97

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	4	2.80
Early	5	3.50
Waited a while	3	2.10
Late	5	3.50
Very late	29	20.28
Did not answer	97	67.83

Q.83 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 53 Skipped: 90

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	7	4.90
Helpful	11	7.69
No difference	19	13.29

Unhelpful	11	7.69
Made things worse	5	3.50
Did not answer	90	62.94

Q.84 Did you inform a relative that you were being stalked?

Answered: 104 Skipped: 39

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	85	59.44
No	20	13.99
Did not answer	39	27.27

Q.85 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 58 Skipped: 85

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	14	9.79
Early	6	4.20
Waited a while	10	6.99
Late	6	4.20
Very late	22	15.38
Did not answer	85	59.44

Q.86 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 82 Skipped: 61

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	2	1.40
Helpful	11	7.69
No difference	60	41.96
Unhelpful	8	5.59
Made things worse	1	0.70
Did not answer	61	42.66

Q.87 Did you inform a friend that you were being stalked?

Answered: 101 Skipped: 42

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	89	62.24
No	12	8.39
Did not answer	42	29.37

Q.88 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 63 Skipped: 80

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	25	17.48
Early	6	4.20

Waited a while	10	6.99
Late	6	4.20
Very late	16	11.19
Did not answer	80	55.94

Q.89 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 90 Skipped: 53

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	2	1.40
Helpful	13	9.09
No difference	65	45.45
Unhelpful	3	2.10
Made things worse	7	4.90
Did not answer	53	37.06

Q.90 Did you inform your manager/boss at work that you were being stalked?

Answered: 102 Skipped: 41

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	38	26.57
No	64	44.76
Did not answer	41	28.67

Q.91 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 28 Skipped: 115

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	4	2.80
Early	1	0.70
Waited a while	4	2.80
Late	3	2.10
Very late	16	11.19
Did not answer	115	80.42

Q.92 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 37 Skipped: 106

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	3	2.10
Helpful	8	5.59
No difference	21	14.69
Unhelpful	3	2.10
Made things worse	2	1.40
Did not answer	106	74.13

Q.93 Did you make an application for a restraining order/injunction against the stalker?

Answered: 100 Skipped: 43

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	26	18.18
No	74	51.75
Did not answer	43	30.07

Q.94 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 22 Skipped: 121

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	0	0
Early	0	0
Waited a while	2	1
Late	1	0.70
Very late	19	13
Did not answer	121	84.62

Q.95 If you applied for more than one, please provide details of each one.

Answered: 11 Skipped: 132

- It is hard to remember now but I had about 3 orders.
- Same one just extended for 3 years every 3 years still current now.
- Good behaviour bond.
- I've lost count of the DVOs by now - there have been approx 9 or 10 including one that lasted 2 years and several temp DVOs. I am attending court for the next one soon - all done privately, the police have never helped at all. I had to go to full hearings and be quizzed by my stalker on the witness stand - he was allowed to ask me about very personal things - even anal sex.
- I applied for a Misconduct Restraining Order because that's what I had been advised to do. However when the stalker received summons from police, he became angry and approached me making threats. I went back to court the next day and obtained a Violence Restraining Order.
- No contact in anyway, stay 500m away at all times.
- There had been numerous applications, somewhere with held others thrown out. Often the magistrate would not grant one as he had bail conditions after being arrested.
- I had it extended.
- Attended the Melbourne Magistrate's court and was approved for an interim intervention order to be served to my ex.
- I applied for one on the Gold Coast and was successful in obtaining one. He fronted court but because of telecommunications issues (I was living in Wagga when it went to court) the prosecution let him enter a not guilty plea. I don't think the police there took it overly seriously despite him turning up to places I was, sending me expensive gifts on Valentines Day 2011 and leaving messages for me at university. When he travelled down to Wagga Wagga I had to get a new AVO because a different state. My understanding was he was banned from Wagga and he fronted court on numerous occasions. He was put into psychiatric care for a number of weeks. He then moved from the Gold Coast to Albury - which is a lot closer to me. I haven't heard from him since this but I have since moved to Newcastle and I don't know where he is living anymore.
- DVO, Request no contact order. He consented to the order and then breached it.

Q.96 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 27 Skipped: 116

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	5	3.50
Helpful	9	6.29
No difference	5	3.50

Unhelpful	2	1.40
Made things worse	6	4.20
Did not answer	116	81.12

Q.97 Did you move house as a result of the stalking?

Answered: 103 Skipped: 40

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	30	20.98
No	73	51.05
Did not answer	40	28.67

Q.98 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 24 Skipped: 119

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	0	0
Early	1	0.70
Waited a while	2	1.40
Late	1	0.70
Very late	20	13.99
Did not answer	119	83.22

Q.99 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 30 Skipped: 113

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	9	6.29
Helpful	6	4.20
No difference	10	6.99
Unhelpful	1	0.70
Made things worse	4	2.80
Did not answer	113	79.02

Q.100 Did you increase security at your place of residence? (e.g., dog, CCTV, extra-lighting)

Answered: 102 Skipped: 41

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	37	25.87
No	65	45.45
Did not answer	41	28.67

Q.101 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 28 Skipped: 115

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	2	1.40
Early	2	1.40

Waited a while	1	0.70
Late	5	3.50
Very late	18	12.59
Did not answer	115	80.42

Q.102 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 37 Skipped: 106

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	3	2.10
Helpful	9	6.29
No difference	23	16.08
Unhelpful	1	0.70
Made things worse	1	0.70
Did not answer	106	74.13

Q.103 Did you threaten the stalker?

Answered: 101 Skipped: 42

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	18	12.59
No	84	58.74
Did not answer	42	29.37

Q.104 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 17 Skipped: 126

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	5	3.50
Early	1	0.70
Waited a while	2	1.40
Late	3	2.10
Very late	6	4.20
Did not answer	126	88.11

Q.105 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 17 Skipped: 126

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	3	2.10
Helpful	4	2.80
No difference	3	2.10
Unhelpful	1	0.70
Made things worse	6	4.20
Did not answer	126	88.11

Q.106 Did you physically assault the stalker?

Answered: 102 Skipped: 41

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	1	0.70
No	101	70.63
Did not answer	41	28.67

Q.107 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 1 Skipped: 142

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately		
Early		
Waited a while	1	0.70
Late		
Very late		
Did not answer	142	99.30

Q.108 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 37 Skipped: 106

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	0	0.00
Helpful	0	0.00
No difference	1	0.70
Unhelpful	0	0.00
Made things worse	0	0.00
Did not answer	142	99.30

Q.109 Did you change your mailing address? (e.g. used a PO BOX number instead)

Answered: 103 Skipped: 40

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	15	10.49
No	88	61.54
Did not answer	40	27.97

Q.110 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 10 Skipped: 133

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	0	0
Early	0	0
Waited a while	0	0
Late	1	0.70
Very late	9	6.29
Did not answer	133	93.01

Q.111 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 15 Skipped: 128

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	2	1.40
Helpful	4	2.80
No difference	7	4.90
Unhelpful	2	1.40
Made things worse	0	0.00
Did not answer	128	89.51

Q.112 Did you change/alter your travel routine? (e.g. took different route/method to work)

Answered: 102 Skipped: 41

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	49	34.27
No	55	38.46
Did not answer	41	28.67

Q.113 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 37 Skipped: 106

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	9	6.29
Early	3	2.10
Waited a while	5	3.50
Late	6	4.20
Very late	14	9.79
Did not answer	106	74.13

Q.114 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 46 Skipped: 97

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	2	1.40
Helpful	7	4.90
No difference	33	23.08
Unhelpful	2	1.40
Made things worse	2	1.40
Did not answer	97	67.83

Q.115 Did you change your job?

Answered: 99 Skipped: 44

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	17	11.89
No	83	58.04
Did not answer	44	30.77

Q.116 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 12 Skipped: 131

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	0	0
Early	0	0
Waited a while	2	1.40
Late	0	0
Very late	10	6.99
Did not answer	131	91.61

Q.117 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 129

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	1	0.70
Helpful	3	2.10
No difference	9	6.29
Unhelpful	0	0.00
Made things worse	1	0.70
Did not answer	129	90.21

Q.118 Did you have a solicitor contact the stalker to inform them their behaviour was unwanted?

Answered: 102 Skipped: 41

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	9	6.29
No	93	65.03
Did not answer	41	28.67

Q.119 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 5 Skipped: 138

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	0	0
Early	0	0
Waited a while	2	1.40
Late	0	0
Very late	3	2.10
Did not answer	138	96.50

Q.120 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 9 Skipped: 134

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	2	1.40
Helpful	1	0.70
No difference	5	3.50

Unhelpful	1	0.70
Made things worse	0	0.00
Did not answer	134	93.71

Q.121 Did you ignore the stalking behaviour/the stalker?

Answered: 102 Skipped: 41

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	80	55.94
No	22	15.38
Did not answer	41	28.67

Q.122 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 53 Skipped: 90

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	15	10.49
Early	4	2.80
Waited a while	5	3.50
Late	6	4.20
Very late	23	16.08
Did not answer	90	62.94

Q.123 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 79 Skipped: 64

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	2	1.40
Helpful	17	11.89
No difference	38	26.57
Unhelpful	10	6.99
Made things worse	12	8.39
Did not answer	64	44.75

Q.124 Did you change your name?

Answered: 101 Skipped: 42

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	5	3.50
No	96	67.13
Did not answer	42	29.37

Q.125 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 3 Skipped: 140

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	0	0
Early	0	0
Waited a while	0	0
Late	1	0.70
Very late	2	1.40
Did not answer	140	97.90

Q.126 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 5 Skipped: 138

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	1	0.70
Helpful	2	1.40
No difference	1	0.70
Unhelpful	1	0.70
Made things worse	0	0.00
Did not answer	138	96.50

Q.127 Did you directly act/change anything else in response to the stalking?

Answered: 97 Skipped: 46

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	58	40.56
No	39	27.27
Did not answer	46	32.17

Q.128 If yes, when did you do this (month/year)

Answered: 43 Skipped: 100

Answer	*n*	*%*
Immediately	8	5.59
Early	1	0.70
Waited a while	6	4.20
Late	4	2.80
Very late	24	16.78
Did not answer	100	69.93

Q.129 How helpful in stopping the stalking was this?

Answered: 59 Skipped: 84

Answer	*n*	*%*
Very helpful	7	4.90
Helpful	14	9.79
No difference	34	23.78
Unhelpful	2	1.40
Made things worse	2	1.40
Did not answer	84	58.74

Q.130 Did you respond to the stalker at all?

Answered: 102 Skipped: 41

Answer	*n*	*%*
No	23	16.08
Yes	79	55.24
Did not answer	41	28.67

Q.130a If you responded, how did you respond? (multi-response)

Answered: 79 Skipped: 64

Answer	*n*	*%*
I attacked the stalker	4	2.80
I threatened the stalker	13	9.09
I confronted the stalker	26	18.18
I asked the stalker to leave me alone	49	34.27
I asked the stalker why s/he was doing this to me	22	15.38

Q.131 If you did respond to the stalker, at what point did this happen?

Answered: 85 Skipped: 58

Answer	*n*	*%*
At the start of the stalking	41	28.67
After several incidents	22	15.38
After many incidents	22	15.38
Did not answer	58	40.56

Q.132 If you did respond to the stalker, do you think this helped or made things worse?

Answered: 85 Skipped: 58

Answer	*n*	*%*
Helped	9	6.29
Made things worse	38	26.57
Had no effect	29	20.28
Unsure	9	6.29
Did not answer	58	40.56

Q.133 Did other people (but not official agencies such as police) respond to the stalker on your behalf?

Answered: 95 Skipped: 48

Answer	*n*	*%*
No	43	30.07
Yes	52	36.36
Did not answer	48	33.57

Q.133a If others responded, how did they respond? (multi-response)

Answered: 79 Skipped: 64

Answer	*n*	*%*
They attacked the stalker	2	1.40
They threatened the stalker	11	7.69
They confronted the stalker	27	18.88
They asked the stalker to leave me alone	36	25.17
They asked the stalker why s/he was doing this to me	11	7.69

Q.134 If someone did respond to the stalker on your behalf, who were they? (e.g. brother, best friend)

Answered: 55 Skipped: 88

Answer	*n*	*%*
Family/friend	44	30.77
Colleague	6	4.20
Other	5	3.50
Did not answer	88	61.54

Q.135 If others responded to the stalker on your behalf, do you think this helped or made things worse?

Answered: 61 Skipped: 82

Answer	*n*	*%*
Helped	22	15.38
Made things worse	12	8.39
Had no effect	23	16.08
Unsure	4	2.80
Did not answer	82	57.34

Q.136 In your opinion, what was the most helpful response you took that stopped the stalking?

Answered: 91 Skipped: 52

Answer	*n*	*%*
Seeking professional help (police, legal, support workers)	23	16.08
Moving away	9	6.29
Ignoring the stalker	13	9.09
Changing lifestyle	13	9.09

Confronting the stalker	11	7.69
Telling others	4	2.80
Other response	18	12.59
Did not answer	52	36.36

Q.137 If you waited to take positive steps to stop the stalker (e.g. didn't inform the police/tell friends/get an injunction), was there any reason for the delay?

Answered: 73 Skipped: 70

Answer	*n*	*%*
Felt bad for him/I felt guilty	10	6.99
Didn't have enough evidence	4	2.80
Wasn't sure if it was criminal	18	12.59
Didn't think I'd be taken seriously	6	4.20
Didn't want to make things worse	10	6.99
I was too embarrassed	3	2.10
I thought it would go away	9	6.29
Other response	13	9.09
Did not answer	70	48.25

Q.138 What methods do/did you use to cope with being stalked?

Answered: 93 Skipped: 50

Answer	*n*	*Helpful?*	*% that found it helpful*
Had more contact with friends or family	63	45	68.3
Had less contact with friends or family	20	5	25.00
Drank more alcohol	29	7	24.14
Took prescription medicines	16	9	56.25
Tried complimentary/alternative therapies	8	5	62.50
Took recreational drugs	9	5	55.50
Didn't go out as much	52	10	19.20
Changed my routine	54	19	36.50
Carried a weapon	6	6	100.00
Received counselling	33	16	48.48
Other coping strategies	18	8	44.44
Did not answer	50		

Q.139 – Q.144 are 'Take a Break' questions and assist in controlling for social desirability

SECTION SIX: THE EFFECTS OF STALKING

Q.145 Physical effects. Below is a list of physical symptoms that some victims have described. (multi-response)

Answered: 97 Skipped: 46

Answer	*n*	*%*
No physical effects	6	4.20
Change in diet	55	38.46
Change in weight	42	29.37
Sleep disturbances	80	55.94
Nausea	35	24.48
Headaches	41	28.67
Tiredness/weakness	80	55.94
Injuries (inflicted by the stalker)	6	4.20
Self-harm	8	5.59
Panic attacks	49	34.27
Did not answer	46	32.17

Q.146 This list deals with emotional effects. (multi-response)

Answered: 100 Skipped: 43

Answer	*n*	*%*
No emotional effects	1	0.70
Confusion	42	29.37
Suicidal thoughts	20	13.99
Anger	63	44.06
Suicide attempts	9	6.29
Fear	75	52.45
Depression	50	34.97
Increased distrust	73	51.05
Anxiety	80	55.94
Aggression	16	11.19
Paranoia	44	30.77
Irritation	43	30.07
Agoraphobia	13	9.09
Did not answer	43	30.07

Q.147 Did you have to attend hospital or go and see your GP because of physical injury caused by the stalker (e.g. broken bones, bruising)?

Answered: 100 Skipped: 43

Answer	*n*	*%*
No	89	62.24
Yes, saw my GP	9	6.29
Yes, was admitted or referred to hospital	2	1.40

Yes, admitted myself to hospital	0	0
Did not answer	43	30.07

Q.148 Did you have to attend hospital or go and see your GP because of other physical effects caused by the stalker (e.g. eating disturbances, tiredness)?

Answered: 98 Skipped: 45

Answer	*n*	*%*
No	67	46.85
Yes, saw my GP	29	20.28
Yes, was admitted or referred to hospital	2	1.40
Yes, admitted myself to hospital	0	0
Did not answer	45	31.47

Q.149 Did you have to attend hospital or go and see your GP because of emotional effects caused by the stalker (e.g. depression, anxiety)?

Answered: 99 Skipped: 44

Answer	*n*	*%*
No	57	39.86
Yes, saw my GP	40	27.97
Yes, was admitted or referred to hospital	2	1.40
Yes, admitted myself to hospital	0	0
Did not answer	44	30.77

Q.150 Did your GP refer to for counselling?

Answered: 90 Skipped: 53

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	28	19.58
No	62	43.36
Did not answer	53	37.06

Q.151 This next list asks whether you suffered social and financial consequences as a result of being stalked. (multi-response)

Answered: 82 Skipped: 61

Answer	*n*	*%*
Had to change my job/course	20	13.99
Had to move home	28	19.58
Had to give up social activities (nights out, hobbies)	47	32.87
Had to give up friends or family	17	11.89
Was forced to see less friends or family	30	20.98
Have lost family and friends	26	18.18
Had to change phone number	32	22.38
Had to change e-mail address	20	13.99
Had to cut work hours	13	9.09
Had to change my car/get rid of my car	9	6.29

Had to fix property that stalker damaged	19	13.29
Had to go underground/change my entire identity	4	2.80
Relationship break-up	10	6.99
Expense of counselling	26	18.18
Expense of therapies	12	8.39
Expense of legal advice	16	11.19
Expense of installing security system	11	7.69
Performance at work affected	44	30.77
Annual leave used up on stalking related problems	10	6.99

Q.152 If you took days off work due to being stalked, please indicate how many days you took absence.

Answered: 38 Skipped: 105

Mean: 21.8 days Range: 0-365

Answer (in days)	*n*	*%*
None	11	7.69
Between 1 and 4	3	2.10
Between 5 and 9	10	6.99
Between 10 and 20	7	4.90
21 +	7	4.90
Did not answer	105	73.43

Q.153 If you lost money as a result of being stalked, perhaps due to losing a job, taking time off work, or mending a vandalised car, or attending counselling, how much (approximately) did you lose?

Answered: 44 Skipped: 99

Mean: $7,286.36 Range: $0-$100,000

Answer (in AUD)	*n*	*%*
0-99	9	6.29
100-499	8	5.59
500-999	3	2.10
1,000-4,999	10	6.99
5,000 to 9,999	6	4.20
10,000 +	8	5.59

Q.154 Being stalked often leads to victims feeling more sensitive to further victimisation. Either during or after the stalking, were you alarmed by any activity that was not carried out by your stalker? Examples frequently include spam e-mails and text messages, or junk mail.

Answered: 94 Skipped: 49

Answer	*n*	*%*
Yes	51	35.66
No	43	30.07
Did not answer	49	34.27

Q.155 – Q.162 are 'Take a Break' questions and assist in controlling for social desirability

SECTION SEVEN: YOUR ADVICE AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Q.163 When do you think that stalking really ends for victims? Please choose just ONE response:

Answered: 90 Skipped: 54

Answer	*n*	*%*
When the stalker decides to end the stalking	27	18.88
When the stalker is punished by the legal authorities	5	1.40
When the threat from the stalker has been neutralised	14	9.79
When the stalker stops deriving pleasure from thinking about his/her actions	4	2.80
When the stalker is truly sorry	1	0.70
When victims take the law into their own hands	0	0
When the victim forgives the stalker	8	5.59
When the stalker moves on to stalk someone else	6	4.20
Never	25	17.48
Did not answer	54	37.06

Q.164 What advice would you give to victims? (open ended coded comments)

Answered: 97 Skipped: 46

Answer	*n*	*%*
Seek help (legal, police, support worker, friends, family)	45	31.47
Keep a record/evidence	16	11.19
Don't wait to get help	8	5.59
Don't blame yourself/feel guilty	7	4.90
Avoid the stalker/move away	7	4.90
Confront the stalker	2	1.40
Other Response	12	8.39
Did not answer	46	32.17

Q.165 What would you have the agencies do to help victims of stalking?

Answered: 71 Skipped: 72

Answer	*n*	*%*
Take them seriously/believe them	14	9.79
Provide shelter/financial support	5	3.50
Provide emotional support/counselling (e.g. listen)	13	9.09
Provide legal advice	3	2.10
Improve prosecutions/policing practices	8	5.59
Improve laws/make tougher penalties	8	5.59
Improve access to information and advice easier	10	6.99
Educate agencies	2	1.40
Follow through (i.e. continue support)	2	1.40
Other response	6	4.20
Did not answer	72	50.35

Q.166 What, in your view, is the best way to stop a stalker?

Answered: 79 Skipped: 64

Answer	*n*	*%*
Legal/police intervention	37	25.87
Move away/avoid	4	2.80
Don't give up	1	0.70
Confront them	4	2.80
Act quickly	3	2.10
Ignore the stalker	10	6.99
Therapy for stalker	2	1.40
You can't	4	2.80
I don't know	5	3.50
Other response	9	6.29
Did not answer	64	44.76

Q.167 Any further comments

Answered: 35 Skipped: 108

- I think this is a very complex question and dependent on context. I was extremely lucky that my stalker backed off when I threatened police action if he continued, however, for some women the torment goes on for years. As such, I believe the best way to stop a stalker is to prevent stalking behaviour. I believe stalking behaviour is inextricably tied to male privilege and a perceived sense of entitlement (to women). My stalker, and many others, will not take no for an answer and expect that women will service their needs. I guess what I'm saying is that it's reflective of our inherently sexist and misogynistic culture. Therefore, one cannot simple 'stop a stalker' without examining why it happens in the first place.
- I have had 4 instances of being stalked. the first was by my sister who was jealous because she perceived our father gave me more attention as a child. I had no idea that she hated me until 2005 when my other sister told me she had been interfering in my life for 30 years. She even turned everyone against me, including my child and apparently was extremely angry when I found out what she had done and disappeared. I had to cut all ties with everyone, all family members and friends to get away from her. But it worked. The 2nd instance was being stalked by drug dealers next door when I lived in Cairns. It was obvious why. They were worried that I would tell the police Problem solved when I moved away. The 3rd instance was a neighbour at Kippa Ring, another old man who would sit behind his lace curtains and watch me all day. He would waylay me and ask me if I drank, ask what I was doing at night, this sort of thing, and then he would follow me over to the shops to see where I was going to. He would go around to all the neighbours and tell them things that turned them against me. This also stopped when I moved away. The 4th was the one I have written about in this survey. This was by far the worst. Again, by moving away, it stopped. Im sure if I stayed there, I would have eventually succumbed to the effects of the poison and I would have died. He was sure that because it wasn't out in the open he is getting away with it. If I could have moved earlier, I would have, but I would have lost my bond and had a black mark against my name with the Residential Tenancies Authority and would have been unable to rent another place, ever. I have moved very far away, and made sure that I have no close neighbours. I have told a couple of people in the town of 560 residents that I just want to be left alone. They are still curious, and I hope that all will be well now. But I have only been here a fortnight. In my case, I have been very vulnerable to this kind of abuse because I am alone with no protector and limited funds with which to protect myself. However, I am not afraid to liquidate everything I've got to get away from people who want to hurt me. Thank you for giving me this opportunity to tell you about my experiences. It is so good to be believed. p.s., Would be interested in getting a copy of the results of your survey. Thank you.
- My case was 'minor', in the sense that I came to no physical harm or ever thought that I would, but it had a huge impact on me, so I can't emphasise enough how serious this issue is for society. The perpetrator in my case wasn't the classic aggressive/controlling man, he was extremely self-pitying and thought that he was entitled to make demands of me because it was, in his mind, him taking action to make his life better, because I had some kind of answer - he was obviously convinced that he was on a path to self-improvement. This made him impossible to reason with, because he couldn't see how he was harming me because HE was the victim, always, HE could never be a perpetrator.
- No one takes me seriously - they think it's like a pesky mosquito hanging around. Family and friends listen, then change the subject. Perhaps a group of other victims to support each other.
- I have been stalked 3 times in my life, at the age of 15, 25 and 28 years old. By 3 different males.

- Your `take a break' sections are a condescending waste of time.
- Stalking and domestic violence are not taken seriously enough. Stalkers ultimately stalk/abuse because they can.
- My incident was a long time ago and not as serious as some I've heard of. But it messed with my head for a long time, because he had already messed with my perceptions during our relationship. I had no idea it was wrong or what to do to get it to stop. Now we occasionally end up in the same public venue and ignore each other, and I have warned friends in common; but I do sincerely hope he gets his head on straight because although his problems run deep he's not a malicious person. His parents fucked up his capability to form relationships, and who knows what was done to them when they were kids. It goes on until we find a way to stop it.
- I'm glad you have an interest in stalking victims and I hope something positive can come from your surveys.
- I have been terrorised for over 9 years now including my kids. The stalker is the father of my last 2 kids the last was due to sexual assault (does not change my love for her) and the Police have done nothing but put me down and make me feel like I deserved all of this. I have been single for 9 years now and will never trust another person again. He has traumatised my kids and they have nightmares still. The system needs to change to protect victims bit the stalkers
- Enforce AVOs ptr them in jail.
- Just that your survey wouldn't accept my $ amount regarding the amount this has cost me. it kept saying to use a positive number. My dollar amount due to lost earnings and the sale of my house and what it would be worth now is $1.2 million and I ca’nt be more positive:) Thank you for looking in to this and I really hope the results galvanise the agencies in to action. Kind regards.
- Narcissistic sociopaths are very difficult to expose.
- I don't think AVOs work.
- My stalker still doesn't believe he did anything wrong. Only official 3rd party knowledge (boss) of his behaviour, real consequences for continued actions and the fact that someone else believed he was stalking, even tho he disagreed, made him give up
- This is not taken seriously enough and it is especially discounted by family courts so women are exposed to stalking on an ongoing basis.
- Stop blaming the victims, stop heaping all the responsibility for dealing with stalking on us. We've got the crappy end of the stick already and are most likely suffering for it - put the blame and responsibility where it belongs - on the person choosing to stalk and harass.
- Reading the requirements for this survey and hearing Matthew interviewed on the radio both helped me to start thinking about my own experiences. previously i have not attached the word stalking to being repeatedly contacted over a number of *years* by my ex partner. i struggle to consider my history of abuse by him as "enough" abuse to "count". It's been about 5 years since he contacted me. but i continue to feel anxious around my birthday. i get worried that i might be contacted by him - the messages themselves were innocuous. but to me, they reflected that this violent, scary man still was thinking about me years after i stopped contact. thanks for helping me acknowledge this ongoing anxiety i have and give my a little more validation about the abuse i experienced. i really hope this survey provides some practical benefits to victims of stalking.
- It will take a lifetime for my family to heal .Both of my children have mental heath problems , because even though I left very early , they were exposed to his violence as proxy's and I was unable to protect them from this . Lateral violence.
- The law is different now hopefully it is more effective in protecting those being stalked after a relationship than it was in the mid 1980's.
- Problem with work places publishing profiles on their websites without your permission. For example, I am a Lawyer and the stalker (my ex-partner) found out where I worked as my new employer had a profile of me on their website. Further, there were issues with friends not being active enough to stop communicating with the stalker even though I had informed them of the extent of the stalking which was very frustrating. The harassment from stalking was less frightening, and more emotionally draining as it was always in the back of your mind (however my stalker was not physically violent).
- Some of the questions do not recognise that during the period of the stalking behaviour the victim may have done something at one point but not done it at another point. Some paths to different questions depending on a response may be needed. It upset me a bit doing this questionnaire even after a year and where the stalking stopped and was relatively minor. Probably because of other bad things that happened to me.
- My stalker continued this pattern of behaviour after stalking me. He is currently on trial for murder and I have been subpoenaed. I feel that I am still suffering the trauma even though my stalking incident supposedly ceased decades ago.
- Being stalked by an unknown person almost destroyed my life. I am a strong woman but I suffered untold injury that may never heal. As a result I'm distrusting where before I was a happy open minded person. My son has been affected but he's young and he will hopefully forget it in time. Thank you for your good work. I hope it benefits people in the future.

- It is something that is crippling and can be suppressed emotionally until a decade later if not dealt with at the time through psychologists etc. You're doing a great thing by doing more studies into stalking, because most women I know are too scared to say anything and have had experience with stalking. Thank you
- Educate people on just how little they're entitled to in this world. Stalkers have a huge sense of entitlement and I don't know who else to blame besides culture/society. They're also quite afraid of women/rejection so they think that the only way they can have sexual relations and intimacy with a woman is to manipulate/control her.
- The law is a bit retroactive when it comes to stalkers understandably. Despite him putting things on Twitter about coming to find me and detailing where he was driving and what he was going to do, police couldn't really do anything before he actually made contact with me which was a bit frustrating. He would tweet publicly what he was about to do, so technically he wasn't contacting me.
- My stalker is extremely careful not to link himself with me ie No emails, texts or phone calls. He stalks me by car every day, when I arrive for work and when I leave. It's amazing how he just happens to be walking past on the same pathway the minute I leave my office and always has an excuse.
- It has been an interesting process being threatened by this man who is part of a criminal group. Although I do not think he knows where I live it has made me uneasy at times and hence much more empathetic to victims situations.
- In my case, my stalker is my elderly neighbour who lives directly across from me. I am continually asked why I still live in my townhouse. I haven't done anything wrong, so am tired of having to justify why I still live where I do and justifying having windows and blinds open. Being a victim of this and in my case it is his word against mine but he has admitted to his behaviour and still is allowed to stay in his property while I am constantly on the look out as to where he is. I am still restricted as to my movements and enjoyment of my property and I can't see any restrictions that have inhibited his lifestyle.

Appendix 3: Bond University Human Research Ethics Materials

Ethics Approval RO1617

Sent: 11 December 2012 16:50

To: Matthew Raj

Cc: Wayne Petherick; Robyn Lincoln

Dear Matthew, Robyn and Wayne,

This is a brief email to let you know that BUHREC has now approved your project 'Victim Response and Control: Factors Affecting the Intensity and Duration of Stalking'. A hard copy letter confirming approval will be sent to you via internal mail shortly. The Committee was impressed by this well thought out application and observed that itaddresses all the potential ethical issues, especially consent, comprehensively. The reviewers also felt that your strategies to manage potential trauma of participants when recalling stalking events appeared well founded.

Please be aware that the approval is given subject to the protocol of the study being under taken as described in your application, and in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research.

Should you have any queries or experience any problems, please liaise directly with Ethics Office early in your research project: Telephone: (07) 559 54194, Facsimile: (07) 559 51120, Email: buhrec@bond.edu.au.

Best wishes,

Dr Lisa Marlow
Research Ethics Manager
Office of Research Services

Telephone: +61 7 5595 4194
Facsimile: +61 7 5595 1120
Bond University | Gold Coast, Queensland, 4229, Australia
CRICOS Provider Code: 00017B

Project title: Victim Responses: Factors Affecting the Duration and Intensity of Stalking

Project protocol number: RO 1617

This research is being conducted by Matthew Raj, as a thesis project under the direct supervision of Dr Terry Goldsworthy in the Department of Criminology at Bond University. This project will be conducting research on the responses of stalking victims. We are writing to you to kindly request permission to make contact with your support group members. Specifically, we would like the opportunity to inform your support group members about our research and to invite them to take part in our study.

The purpose of this research is to compare and contrast, at length, responses of victims, the timings of those responses, and any effect on the duration and intensity of stalking. We are also interested in what victims of stalking think is the best way to respond to stalking. By elucidating the precise nature of the relationship between these concepts in this context, law enforcement, practitioners, interventionists and victims themselves will be able to, more successfully, consider the effectiveness of adaptive and maladaptive approaches to abate stalking. At a theoretical level, this research seeks to identify the commonalities between the concepts and to provide a more uniform framework for the understanding of victim responses and their effectiveness.

Participants must be female, living in Australia (aged 18 years & over) and must have been stalked at some point in their lifetime. The project involves the completion of a questionnaire which can be found online at (insert web-site) or can be completed in hard-copy. There are seven sections to answer, each containing a short explanation of what is being asked of the participant. There is also a brief explanation of the study at the beginning of the survey. It is anticipated that the completion of the survey will take between 40-60 minutes.

If you are happy to advertise our research to your support group members, please do contact Matthew via email (mraj@bond.edu.au) or Dr Goldsworthy (tgoldswo@bond.edu.au). Should you wish to advertise our research, a display poster has been provided. If you would like to know any more about our research project before you grant us permission to speak with your support group members please do contact either Mr Raj or Dr Goldsworthy.

We thank you very much for your time and consideration, and we look forward to hearing from you soon.

Mr Matthew Raj
Student Researcher
Email: mraj@bond.edu.au

Dr Terry Goldsworthy
Principal Investigator
Email: tgoldswo@bond.edu.au

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research (Project RO 1617) is conducted, please do not hesitate to contact Bond University Research Ethics Committee at the following address: The Complaints Officer, Bond University Human Research Ethics Committee, Bond University Research and Consultancy Services, Level 2, Central Building, Bond University Gold Coast, 4229. Telephone (07) 5595 4194 Fax (07) 5595 1120 Email: buhrec@bond.edu.au

Explanatory Statement

We are interested in finding out more about the experiences of stalking victims and survivors in order to try and understand the best possible methods of intervention by victims. Stalking is widespread in Australia, with up to 15% of the female population having been stalked at some point in their lives. We would like to find out about your experiences, specifically, how you have responded to being stalked. The aim of this research is to improve services and support for victims.

We would therefore be most grateful if you could complete this questionnaire. Stalking is an extraordinary and complex crime, so the questionnaire is (unfortunately!) quite detailed. Work through it at your own pace, perhaps taking breaks and returning to the questionnaire when you feel ready. **It is estimated that the questionnaire may take between 40 to 60 minutes to complete.**

The questionnaire can be completed by entering the following web-address (www.surveymonkey.com/s/stalkingresponses) and following the web-links. If you would rather complete a paper copy of the questionnaire, please contact Matthew via e-mail at stalkingresponses@gmail.com or by post at Bond University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Gold Coast, Queensland, 4229.

All responses are anonymous which means neither we nor anyone else will know your identity. You are required to complete a text box at the start of the questionnaire, providing the last 3 digits of your mobile or home phone, plus the first and last letters of your surname or mother's maiden name, and your date of birth for month only (for example, 550PK10). This is a unique reference number which you are asked to make a note of in order that, should you wish to contact us and withdraw your information from the survey at any stage, we will be able to identify your questionnaire using that reference. In the event that you need to contact us, your information will remain confidential. If you're feeling any distress as a result of completing the survey, please contact Bond Counselling Service on 0755954002, Lifeline on 131114 or a private practitioner.

The questionnaire has seven sections in all. Between some sections you are prompted to **Take a Break** by answering questions which do not necessarily relate to your experiences of stalking. Please complete these as your answers to them are equally important to our research. If you think we have missed anything out, or if you would like to tell us more about any particular aspect of your experience, please go to the end where there is additional space to add further details.

This study only seeks to know about the information of **ONE** stalker – if you have been stalked by more than one person, please feel free to submit an additional survey.

Please only complete the survey if you are:
Female;
Over the age of 18;
Living in Australia; and
You have been stalked at one time or another.

Stalking, for the purposes of this questionnaire, includes intentionally being followed, watched, approach, contacted by phone, email, or other use of technology, being sent offensive material or being threatened or experiencing acts of violence towards you or your property, (any of these behaviours must have occurred on more than one occasion) which has either caused you to be fearful, OR has caused you detriment (e.g., serious psychological harm, selling a property you would not otherwise sell, changing your route to work, fearful for another person's safety, etc.).

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is being conducted please make contact with the following, quoting the reference RO1617.

Bond University Human Research Ethics Committee,
c/o Bond University Office of Research Services.
Bond University, Gold Coast, 4229
Tel: +61 7 5595 4194 Fax: +61 7 5595 1120 Email: buhrec@bond.edu.au

Thank you.

_____ _____

Mr Matthew Raj
Student Researcher

Dr Terry Goldsworthy
Principal Investigator

RESPONSES TO STALKING

Are you:

Female? ☑

Over 18 years old? ☑

Living in Australia? ☑

AND

Have been a victim of Stalking at some point in your life? ☑

If you've answered **YES** to all of these and you are interested in completing our online questionnaire, we would love to hear from you. You can find more information on our website at www.surveymonkey.com/s/stalkingresponses or you can e-mail us at stalkingresponses@gmail.com

BOND UNIVERSITY

Appendix 4: Recruitment Media Sources

Research project aims to stamp out stalking: stalking victims urged to take part

05 February 2014

Have you ever been the victim of a stalker? Were you forced to shut down your social media pages? Did you invest in a big dog? Move house? Or take legal action?

It is estimated that 19% of women in Australia will be stalked at some stage in their lives*, with approximately one-fifth of all victims suffering from some form of physical assault by their stalker.

Bond University researcher, Matthew Raj, is looking for stalking victims to participate in the comprehensive nationwide study into how victims have responded to stalking behaviours and what they've found to be effective.

This is the first study worldwide to examine, in-depth, the impact of 'when' victims respond, to help determine what action, when taken, is the most effective.

"The aim of the study is to identify what works and what doesn't when it comes to the victim's response to stalking," said Mr Raj, a British barrister who is undertaking the research at Bond as part of his PhD in Criminology under the supervision of Dr Terry Goldsworthy.

"We're looking specifically for female participants, aged 18 years or over, who have been stalked at some time in their lives, who are willing to complete an online survey.

"The questionnaire will take around 40-60 minutes and looks at what behaviours the victims were subjected to, what actions they took, when they took them, and how effective those actions were in stopping the stalker, as well as any physical, emotional, financial and social consequences they suffered."

According to Mr Raj, there are any number of ways that victims respond to stalking – from ignoring it altogether or simply asking the stalker to stop bothering them through to moving house or taking legal action.

"Until now, there's been no evidence-based research undertaken into when it is best to take action. This survey will allow us to see what actually works and how quickly it stops the behaviour in different circumstances.

"Ultimately, the responses will be used to develop a series of best practice recommendations based on what has proven to be effective in a range of situations.

"This sort of detailed information will not only help future victims but will assist the work undertaken by victim support groups and law enforcement agencies, as well as providing a solid basis for public education campaigns.

"It will also significantly enhance the database of information about stalking offences generally in terms of the different behaviours that characterize stalking, and their duration and intensity."

Stalking episodes can extend over periods ranging from a few weeks up to more than a decade, with victims describing their experiences as "emotional or psychological rape" and "psychological terrorism".

In more recent years, the popularity of social media has also seen the emergence of cyber stalking via Facebook, Twitter and other public sites.

Last month, singer/model/actress Sophie Monk became the first Australian celebrity to have an alleged cyber stalker charged with harassing her on social media after she was bombarded with up to 150 sexually explicit and threatening Twitter posts every day over a period of five years.

"The option of taking legal action against a stalker by involving the police, taking out a restraining order or filing charges is often criticised as being ineffectual or, in the worst cases, serving to escalate the behaviour," said Mr Raj.

"Hopefully, our research will provide more evidence-based data as to whether legal action is the best approach or if there are more effective ways to put a stop to the stalking."

The results of this nationwide survey are due to be published by the end of this year.

The Victim Responses to Stalking Survey can be completed anonymously online at www.surveymonkey.com/s/stalkingresponses or you can contact Matthew Raj at Bond University at mraj@bond.edu.au.

* http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4906.0Chapter9002012.

MEDIA - For more information, contact:

Terri Fellowes
The Public Relations Department
PH: +61 7 5595 1116
tfellowe@bond.edu.au

To complete the anonymous online survey go to www.surveymonkey.com/s/stalkingresponses

or contact Matthew Raj at Bond University at mraj@bond.edu.au.

Stalking: the truth

What do Madonna, John Lennon, Hugh Jackman and, closer to home, *The Farmer Wants a Wife* host Natalie Gruzlewski, have in common?

Queensland Premier's Drama Award 2014-2015

The Queensland Government and Queensland Theatre Company are calling for entries for the Queensland Premier's Drama Award 2014-15.

If you're working on a script, or even if you just have a great idea for a show, this is your chance to take it to the next level. If your script or project is an original work and relevant to Australia today, check out the Award guidelines and submit your entry by 30 November 2013. Individuals and Groups are encouraged to apply.

Three shortlisted finalists will get the opportunity to develop their script or

Greg Stolz

ALL these people are celebrity stalking victims.

But it is how everyday victims of stalking deal with the sometimes terrifying harassment that's the subject of a new study by Queensland academics, who have also helped develop a new anti-stalking iPhone app.

Bond University on the Gold Coast is researching victim responses to stalking in a bid to come up with new strategies to curb the problem.

University criminologist Dr Wayne Petherick said the study was the first of its kind in Australia and aimed to get a better handle on stalking, which was increasing as social media use exploded.

"Studies have shown that as many as one in five people will be stalked at some time in their life," he said.

"One of our PhD candidates is researching how stalking victims respond to stalking and how that contributes to ongoing stalking.

"If we can get a better idea of what stalking victims are doing, it might help change behaviours and reduce the severity of the problem."

Dr Petherick said stalking victims typically responded in a 'flight or fight' manner.

"The usual response is to either move towards or move away from the stalker," he said.

"Some victims, especially ex-partners, are more likely to confront or try to reason or negotiate with their stalkers.

"Others, like Madonna who refused to go to court to testify against her stalker, will avoid contact because they are either frightened or believe it will give the stalker exactly what they want."

Dr Petherick said Australian victims were more likely to know their stalkers, as opposed to the US.

"We have had celebrity stalking victims here such as (Seekers singer) Judith Durham and Natalie Gruzlewski, but it's more of a Hollywood phenomenon," he said.

Bond University researchers are looking for at least 80 stalking victims to take part in the study.

Dr Petherick is also on a team of criminologists and security experts involved with a US app developer in creating a new iPhone and iPad app called StopaStalker.

The app, the brainchild of Gold Coast security expert Les Goldsmith, enables victims to record details of stalking incidents and generate reports for police.

It also stores photos of stalkers, details of court orders against them and emergency contacts.

Stalking victims interested in taking part in the Bond University study can call Dr Petherick on 55951124.

The Courier Mail

Research aims to stop stalking

AAP FEBRUARY 05, 2014 5:11PM

IF someone is stalking you is it better to ignore it, call the police or move house?

A world first study aims to help determine the best course of action by examining what responses stop stalking behaviours, including cyber stalking.

The study will also look at the timing of victims' responses to help determine the most effective actions and when they should be taken.

Bond University researcher Matthew Raj is looking for stalking victims, particularly women aged 18 or over, to complete an online survey.

About one in five women will be stalked at some stage, compared to 7.8 per cent of men.

Mr Raj says there are a number of ways victims respond, from ignoring it altogether to shutting down social media pages to taking legal action.

"Until now, there's been no evidence-based research undertaken into when it is best to take action," he said.

"This survey will allow us to see what actually works and how quickly it stops the behaviour in different circumstances."

Mr Raj said the results will help future stalking victims, assist the work of victim support groups and law enforcement agencies, and provide a solid basis for public education campaigns.

The results of the nationwide survey are expected to be published by the end of the year.

Researcher hunts stalking victims

AAP | FEBRUARY 07, 2014 12:00AM

IF someone is stalking you is it better to ignore it, call the police or move house?

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The Daily Telegraph

Research aims to stop stalking

AAP FEBRUARY 05, 2014 6:11PM

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The results of the nationwide survey are expected to be published by the end of the year.

Free Seminar

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

CONNECTIONS AND CHALLENGES

▶ 1pm – 1.30pm

The First Line of Defence

Victim Responses to Stalking presented by Matthew Raj, LL.B (Hons), Barrister (Inner Temple), (Ph.D Candidate), Teaching Fellow Faculty of Law, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bond University

▶ 1.30pm – 2.00pm

That was then this is now

Technology, social media and the intersection with domestic and sexual violence presented by Sergeant Deb Phillips, Queensland Police Service

▶ 2.00pm – 2.30pm

Afternoon tea

▶ 2.30 – 4.30pm

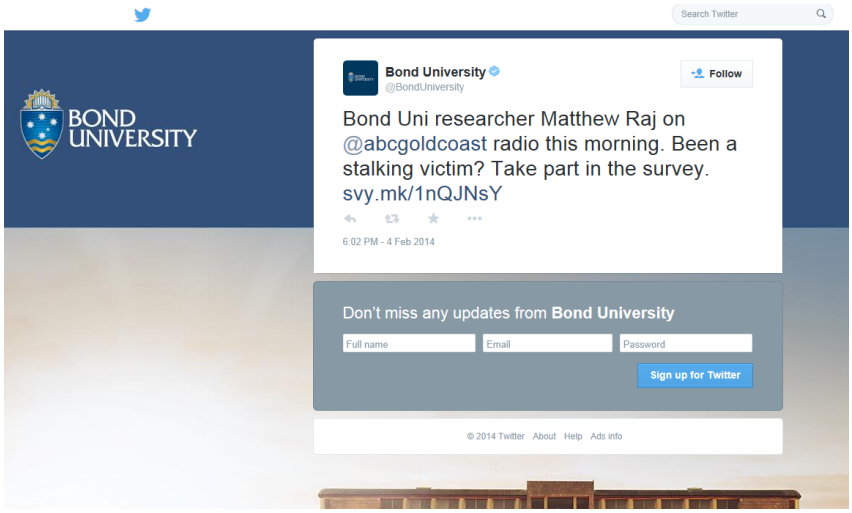
When the rapist is her partner

Presented by Louise McOrmond-Plummer, Author, Activist, Educator and Director, Pandora's Project (www.pandys.org), New South Wales

Time: ..... 1pm - 4.30pm
Date: ..... Friday 6th December 2013
Venue: ..... Case Study Room 6_4_11
Building 6
Bond University Function Centre
Robina
RSVP: ..... Monday 2nd December
Email to: ..... **admin@stopsexualviolence.com**
Phone: ..... 5591 1164 (Narelle)

16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence
November 25 – December 10

GOLD COAST CENTRE
against sexual violence inc.



Bond University is calling for victims of stalking to take part i...

Gold FM, Gold Coast, 06:00 News, Newsreader

07 Feb 2014
6:03AM

Duration: 0 mins 16 secs - ID: W00056134057

Bond University is calling for victims of stalking to take part in a nationwide study looking into victim responses and their effectiveness to determine which actions work best.

Sanders says recently Sophie Monk and a high profile QLD netballe...

ABC Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, Mornings, Belinda Sanders

07 Feb 2014
10:38AM

Duration: 7 mins 54 secs - ID: L00056141101

Sanders says recently Sophie Monk and a high profile QLD netballer were stalked. She says about 20% of women in Australia will be stalked at some stage in their lives and one in five victims will suffer from some form of physical assault by their stalker. She says Bond University has undertaken a study into how victims have responded to stalking. She plays an excerpt of the interview with Matthew Raj from Bond University. Raj talks about the project and says they aim to identify the best practise to deter stalkers. He says victims often don't know what to do and wonder if they should take down their Facebook page or get a dog. He says 70% of stalkers are predominantly male and 70% of victims are female. He says the legislation in QLD captures a broad definition of stalking. He says the motivation for stalkers may defer. He hopes their findings will be used in crime prevention. He says people can contact them at stalkingresponses@gmail.com.

Mornings with Nicole Dyer
8:30am - 11:00am

Bond University's world first study on stalking

05 February 2014 , 2:59 PM by nicole dyer

Have you ever been stalked by someone?

In recent times some high profile cases involving actress Sophie Monk and Qld netballer Romelda Aitken

But it is not just famous people who are at risk.

About 20 percent of women in Australia will be stalked at some stage in their lives.

And one in five of all victims will suffer from some form of physical assault by their stalker.

In a world first Bond University will examine how victims respond to stalking and what they've found to be effective in stopping this kind of behaviour.

Bond University researcher Matthew Raj is looking for anyone who has been stalked to share their stories.

He's speaking here to Nicole Dyer from Mornings.

A local researcher wants to give some power back to victims of on...

Channel 9 Gold Coast, Gold Coast North, Gold Coast News, Bruce Paige
Duration: 1 mins 54 secs - ID: M00056116408

05 Feb 2014 5:42PM

A local researcher wants to give some power back to victims of online stalkers, following charges being laid against an alleged cyber stalker. Sophie Monk, Australian actress, claims she was bombarded with up to 150 threatening Twitter posts from a cyber stalker everyday. Romelda Aiken, Qld netballer, has also revealed her hell caused by blackmail and a revealing photo posted online for people to see. Terry Goldsworthy, Bond University Criminologist, is supervising PhD candidate Matthew Raj who is working to stamp out stalking and he is looking for brave victims to tell their stories. Statistics show 1 in 5 women who have been stalked will at one time be assaulted by their stalker. A survey can be completed anonymously online for the study.

Pre-recorded interview with Matthew Raj, Researcher, Bond Univers...

ABC Far North, Cairns, Drive, Richard Dinnen
Duration: 8 mins 54 secs - ID: W00056226392

14 Feb 2014
4:21PM

Pre-recorded interview with Matthew Raj, Researcher, Bond University, about his research into stalking. Raj defines stalking very broadly, as actions that could include loitering; sending offensive material; contacting by text message or email; which create fear or violence. He cites 2012 figures showing that 1 in 5 women will be stalked in their lifetime, with about a fifth being assaulted as a result. Raj believes most stalkers are ex-partners, meaning the problem can continue for a long time, and indicates that victims are most commonly female. He indicates that he would like to know what Qld and Australian Police are doing about stalking, as he believes Police are often reluctant to take action about the problem before explicit threats are issued. Raj asks female Australians over 18 who have been stalked to be part of the study by relating their experience and response to it via SurveyMonkey, to aid development of pathways out of stalking.

Research aims to stop stalking

West Australian, au.news.yahoo.com
217 words
ID: 235644238

05 Feb 2014

If someone is stalking you is it better to ignore it, call the police or move house?

A world first study aims to help determine the best course of action by examining what responses stop stalking behaviours, including cyber stalking.

The study will...

Research aims to stop stalking

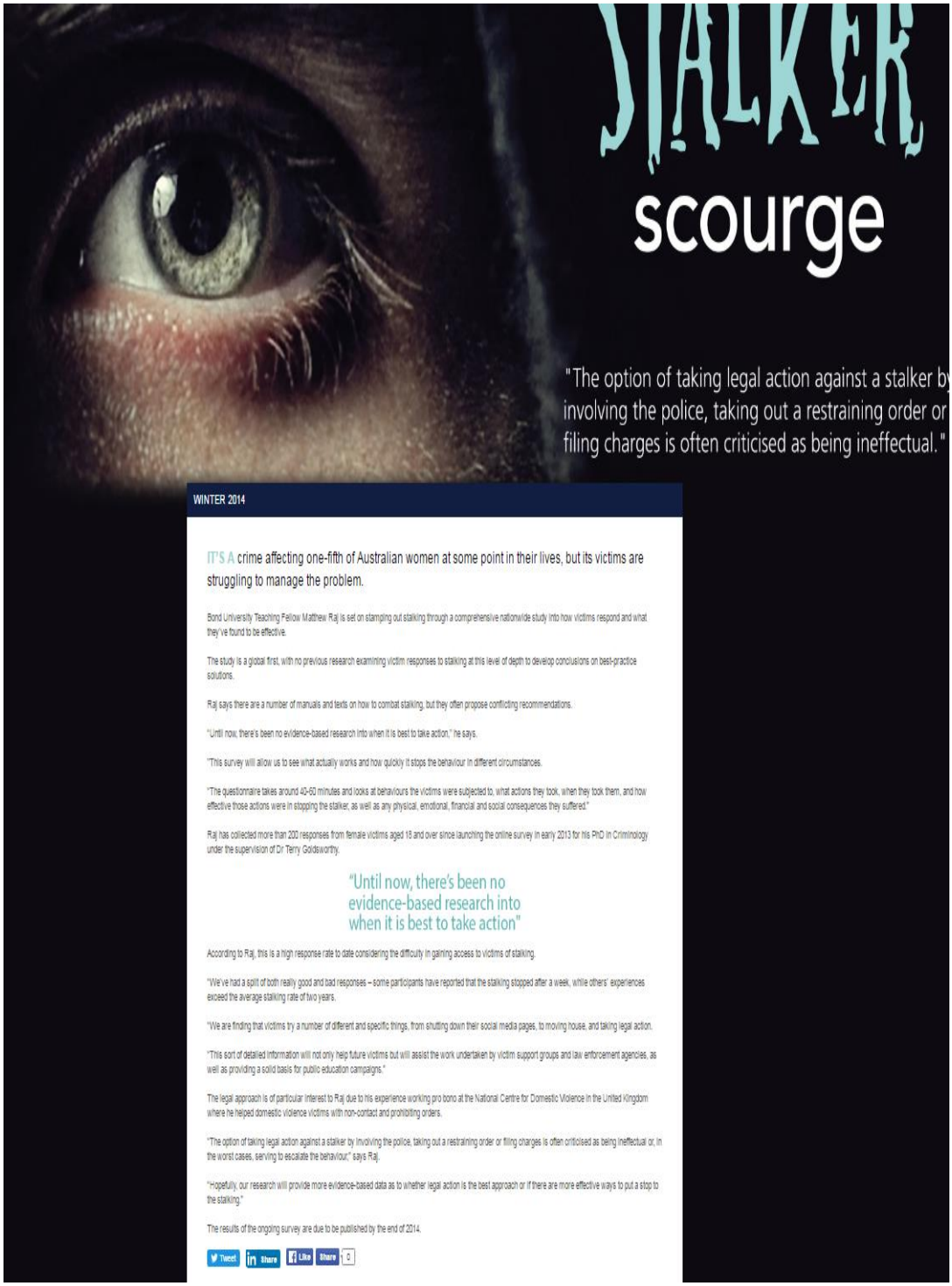
Sky News Australia, rss.skynews.com.au
87 words
ID: 235911425

07 Feb 2014

Researchers are looking for people to help in a world first study which aims to determine the best way to stop stalkers.

The study will look at the timing of victims' responses to help determine the most effective actions and when they should be...

Read on source website


STALKER
scourge
"The option of taking legal action against a stalker by
involving the police, taking out a restraining order or
filing charges is often criticised as being ineffectual."
WINTER 2014
IT'S A crime affecting one-fifth of Australian women at some point in their lives, but its victims are struggling to manage the problem.
Bond University Teaching Fellow Mathew Raj is set on stamping out stalking through a comprehensive nationwide study into how victims respond and what they've found to be effective.
The study is a global first, with no previous research examining victim responses to stalking at this level of depth to develop conclusions on best-practice solutions.
Raj says there are a number of manuals and texts on how to combat stalking, but they often propose conflicting recommendations.
"Until now, there's been no evidence-based research into when it is best to take action," he says.
"This survey will allow us to see what actually works and how quickly it stops the behaviour in different circumstances.
"The questionnaire takes around 40-60 minutes and looks at behaviours the victims were subjected to, what actions they took, when they took them, and how effective those actions were in stopping the stalker, as well as any physical, emotional, financial and social consequences they suffered."
Raj has collected more than 200 responses from female victims aged 18 and over since launching the online survey in early 2013 for his PhD in Criminology under the supervision of Dr Terry Goldsworthy.
"Until now, there's been no evidence-based research into when it is best to take action"
According to Raj, this is a high response rate to date considering the difficulty in gaining access to victims of stalking.
"We've had a split of both really good and bad responses – some participants have reported that the stalking stopped after a week, while others' experiences exceed the average stalking rate of two years.
"We are finding that victims try a number of different and specific things, from shutting down their social media pages, to moving house, and taking legal action.
"This sort of detailed information will not only help future victims but will assist the work undertaken by victim support groups and law enforcement agencies, as well as providing a solid basis for public education campaigns."
The legal approach is of particular interest to Raj due to his experience working pro bono at the National Centre for Domestic Violence in the United Kingdom where he helped domestic violence victims with non-contact and prohibiting orders.
"The option of taking legal action against a stalker by involving the police, taking out a restraining order or filing charges is often criticised as being ineffectual or, in the worst cases, serving to escalate the behaviour," says Raj.
"Hopefully, our research will provide more evidence-based data as to whether legal action is the best approach or if there are more effective ways to put a stop to the stalking."
The results of the ongoing survey are due to be published by the end of 2014.
Tweet
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Appendix 5: List of Victim Support Organisations Across Australia

ACT

Australian Federal Police
Victim Liaison Officers
Phone (02) 6245 7441
Fax (02) 6245 7266

Email vs@agd.nsw.gov.au

Victim Support ACT
Phone (02) 6205 2066
Toll Free 1800 822 272
Email victimsupport@act.gov.au

NSW

Victims Services
Phone (02) 8688 5511
Toll Free 1800 633 063
Fax (02) 8688 9631

NT

Victims of Crime NT
Phone (08) 8941 0995
Toll Free 1800 672 242
Fax (08) 8941 0459
www.victimsofcrime.org.au

QLD

Victims Counselling and Support Services
Relationships Australia
Toll Free 1300 139 703
Fax (07) 3255 2922
Email vcss@relateqld.asn.au
www.vcss.org.au

SA

Victim Support Service Inc
Phone (08) 8231 5626
Toll Free 1800 182 368
Fax (08) 8231 5458
Email info@victimsa.org
www.victimsa.org

TAS

Victims of Crime Service
Toll Free 1300 300 238

VIC

Victim Support Agency
Phone (03) 8684 6700
Fax (03) 8684 6777
www.justice.vic.gov.au/victimsofcrime

WA

Victim Support and ChildWitness Services
Phone (08) 9425 2850
Fax (08) 9221 2533

Domestic Violence Resource Centre Victoria –
http://www.dvrcv.org.au/help-advice/cyber-stalking-and-harassment/

AUSTRALIA-WIDE

Relationships Australia — Tel 026162 9300 orhttp://www.relationships.org.au/contact-us/national-office

Women's Legal Services Australia —http://www.wlsa.org.au/

Women's Services Resources Centre—http://www.wsrc.org.au/womensservices.htm

Australian Women's Health Network
P.O. Box 188, Drysdale Vic 3222
Email: info@awhn.org.au

AUSTRALIA-WIDE SEXUAL ASSAULT SERVICES

QLD

Queensland Statewide Sexual Assault Helpline
1800 010 120

ACT

Canberra Rape Crisis Centre
PO Box 916, Dickson 2602
Phone (02) 6247 2525 24 hr service hotline

NSW

NSW Rape Crisis Centre
Phone 9819 6565
Phone 1800 424 017
http://www.nswrapecrisis.com.au/

Eastern & Central Sexual Assault Service
Ground Floor, King George V Building
Missenden Road
Camperdown 2050
Phone (02) 9515 9040
(02)9515 6111 (after hrs) - crisis calls only.
Also seehttp://www.sexualassault.net.au/

Southern Sydney Sexual Assault Service
St George Hospital
36 Belgrave St
Kogarah 2217
Phone (02) 9113 2494 or (02) 9113 1111 (after hrs)

Northern Sydney Sexual Assault Service
Royal North Shore Hospital
Building 30, Block 1A
Pacific Highway
St Leonards 2065
Phone (02) 9926 7580 (8.30 - 5.00 weekdays)
(02) 9926 7111 (after hours)

Bankstown Community Health Centre
36 - 38 Raymond Street
Bankstown 2200
Ph: (02) 9780 2777
Ph: (02) 9828 3000 (after hours)
Fax: (02) 9780 2899

Liverpool Hospital
Level 3, Health Services Building
Campbell & Goulburn Streets
Liverpool 2170
Ph: (02) 9828 4844
Ph: (02) 9828 3000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 9828 4800

Rosemeadow Sexual Assault Service
5 Thomas Rose Drive
Rosemeadow 2560
Tel: (02) 4633 4100
Tel: (02) 9828 3000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4633 4111

Springfield Cottage
Governor Phillip Hospital
Penrith 2751
Ph: (02) 4734 2512
Ph: (02) 4734 2000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4734 3406

Westmead Hospital
Hawkesbury Road
PO Box 533
Westmead 2145
Ph: (02) 9845 7940
Ph: (02) 9845 5555 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 9845 8328

Blacktown/Mt Druitt Sexual Assault Service
Blacktown Community Health Centre
Unit 1, Marcel Crescent
Blacktown 2148
Ph: (02) 9881 8700
Ph: (02) 9845 5555 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 9671 6360

Central Coast Health
Gosford Hospital
91 Holden Street, Gosford 2250
Tel: (02) 4320 3175
Tel: (02) 4320 2111 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4320 3133

Broken Hill Sexual Assault Service
Thomas Street
Broken Hill 2880
Ph: (08) 8080 1333 (24 hrs)
Fax: (08) 8080 1611

Broken Hill Sexual Assault Service
Thomas Street
Broken Hill 2880
Ph: (08) 8080 1333 (24 hrs)
Fax: (08) 8080 1611

Newcastle Sexual Assault Service
Longworth Avenue, Wallsend 2287
Ph: (02) 4924 6333
Ph: (02) 4921 3888 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4924 6034

Lower Hunter Community Health Centre
58 Stronach Avenue, East Maitland 2323
Ph: (02) 4931 2000
Ph: (02) 4921 3888 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4931 2002

Upper Hunter Sexual Assault Service
Muswellbrook Community Health Centre
PO Box 120, Muswellbrook 2333
Brentwood Street, Muswellbrook 2333
Ph: (02) 6542 2725
Ph: 1800 642 357 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6542 2001

Wollongong Sexual Assault Service
Ph: (02) 4222 5408
Ph: (02) 4222 5000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4228 8461

Bowral Sexual Assault Service
Bowral Community Health Centre
Bendooley Street, Bowral 2576
Ph: (02) 4861 8000
Ph: (02) 4861 0347
Fax: (02) 4861 4956

Nowra Sexual Assault Service
Scenic Drive, Nowra 2540
Ph: (02) 4423 9211 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4423 9217

Dubbo Sexual Assault Service
Dubbo Community Heath Centre
2 Palmer Street
Dubbo 2830
Ph: (02) 6885 8999
Ph: (02) 6885 8666 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6885 8901

Lightning Ridge Sexual Assault Service
Cnr Opal and Pandora Streets
Lightning Ridge 2834
Ph: (02) 6829 9900
Ph: (02) 6829 9999 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6829 9918

Coonabarabran Sexual Assault Service
Cassilis Street
Coonabarabran 2357
Ph: (02) 6842 6402
Ph: (02) 6885 8632 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6842 1851

Taree Community Health Centre
64 Pulteney Street, Taree 2430
Ph: (02) 6592 9315
Ph: (02) 6592 9111 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6592 9607

Port Macquarie Community Health Centre
Morton Street, Port Macquarie 2444
Ph: (02) 6588 2882
Ph: (02) 6581 2000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6588 2800

Coffs Harbour Community Health Centre
Family Care Centre CHHC
345 Pacific Highway, South Coffs Harbour
Ph: (02) 6656 7200
Ph: (02) 6656 7414
Fax: (02) 6656 7203

Bourke MH &C
Tarcoon Street, Bourke 2840
Tel: (02) 6870 8899
Tel: 1800 665 066 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6870 8898

Orange Base Hospital
129 Sale Street, Orange 2800
Tel: (02) 6393 3300
Tel: (02) 6393 3000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6393 3326

Bathurst Community Health Centre
Eric Segreant Drive, Gormans Hill 2795
Tel: (02) 6339 5677
Tel: (02) 6339 5311 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6339 5655

Forbes Sexual Assault Service
Forbes Community Health
Cnr Church Street & Elgin Street
Tel: (02) 6850 2233
Tel: (02) 6850 2000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6852 3101

Parkes Sexual Assault Service
Coleman Road, Parkes 2870
Tel: (02) 6862 1866
Tel: (02) 6393 3000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6862 1082

Armidale Community Health Centre
Rusden Street, Armidale 2350
Tel: (02) 6776 9600 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6776 4900

Glen Innes Community Health Centre
94 Taylor Street, Glen Innes 2370
Tel: (02) 6739 0100
Tel: (02) 6739 0200 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6739 0105

Inverell Health Service
Swanbrook Road, Inverell 2360
Tel: (02) 6721 9600
Tel: (02) 6721 9500 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6721 9580

Moree Hospital
Alice Street, Moree 2400
Tel: (02) 6757 0200
Tel: (02) 6757 0000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6757 2932

Narrabri Community Health Centre
11 Cameron Street, Narrabri 2390
Tel: (02) 6799 2000
Tel: (02) 6799 2800 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6799 5112

Quirindi Health Service
Nowland Street, Quirindi 2343
Tel: (02) 6746 0200 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6746 2002

Tamworth Community Health Centre
(including Gunnedah)
Dean Street, Tamworth 2340
Tel: (02) 6767 8100
Tel: (02) 6767 7700 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6766 3967

Lismore Hospital
Indigo House
17 Weaver Street, Lismore 2480
Tel: (02) 6620 2970
Tel: (02) 6621 8000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6620 2161

Grafton Sexual Assault Service
Arthur Street, Grafton 2460
Tel: (02) 6640 2402
Tel: (02) 6621 8000 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6640 2422

Tweed Valley Sexual Assault Service
Florence Street, Tweed Heads 2485
Tel: (07) 5506 7540
Tel: (07) 5536 1133 (24 hrs)
Fax: (07) 5506 7844

Goulburn Community Health Centre
130 Goldsmith Street, Goulburn 2580
Ph: (02) 4827 3913
Ph: (02) 4827 3111 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4827 3943

Young Community Health Centre
Allanan Street, Young 2594
Ph: (02) 6382 8888 (switch)
Ph: (02) 6382 8729 (direct)
Ph: 1800 677 114(24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6382 8796

Bega Community Health Centre
McKee Drive, Bega 2550
Ph: (02) 6492 9620
Ph: (02) 6492 4416 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6492 3257

Cooma Community Health Centre
Victoria Street, Cooma 2630
Ph: (02) 6455 3201
Ph: (02) 6455 3222 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6455 3360

Eurobodalla Sexual Assault Service
Moruya Community Health Centre
River Street, Moruya 2537
Ph: (02) 4474 1561
Ph: (02) 6492 4416 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 4474 1591

Queanbeyan Sexual Assault Service
26 Antill Street, Queanbeyan 2620
Ph: (02) 6298 9233
Ph: (02) 9298 9211 (24 hrs)
Fax: (02) 6299 6920

NT

Crisis Line Free Call 1800 019 116 (24 hrs)

Sexual Assault Referral Centre (SARC)
Casuarina Plaza, Casuarina 0810
Phone (08) 8922 7156 (24 hour phone service)

Ruby Gaea Centre against Rape - Darwin
Phone (08) 8945 0155

SA

Yarrow Place
Level 2, Norwich Centre
55 King William Rd
North Adelaide 5006
Phone 08 8226 8777
After Hours and Emergency 08 8226 8787
Toll Free 1800 817 421

Domestic Violence Help Line
Free Call 1800 800 098 (24 hrs)

Respond SA
Adult childhood sexual abuse service
Delivered by Relationships Australia (SA)
Recources online at http://respondsa.org.au
Central/Adelaide: 8223 4566
West/Hindmarsh: 8340 2022
Riverland/Berri: 8582 4122
Southern/Marion: 8377 5400
Northern/Salisbury: 8250 6600
North East/Ridgehaven: 8396 4237
Mount Barker: 8393 1833
Murraylands: 8532 4577
Elizabeth: 8255 3323

TAS

Centacare
Phone (03) 6278 1660

Laurel House - Northern Sexual Assault Group
Launceston
Phone (03) 6334 2740 (24 hrs).
Web http://www.laurelhouse.org.au/

North West Centre Against Sexual Abuse
Burnie
Phone (03) 6431 9711

SASS - (Nth Hobart) Sexual Assault Support Service
Phone (03) 6231 1817 (24 hrs)
Web http://www.sass.org.au/

VIC

CASA and the after hours
Sexual Assault Crisis Line (SACL)
FREECALL 1800 806 292
Email SACL at ahcasa@rwh.org.au

Ballarat CASA
115A Ascot Street
South Ballarat, 3350
PO Box 577 Ballarat 3353
Phone: 5320 3933
Web: www.casa.org.au/ballarat

Barwon CASA
291 Latrobe Terrace
Geelong 3220
Phone: 5222 4802
Email: admin@barwoncasa.org
Web: www.barwoncasa.org

CASA House
Level 3
210 Lonsdale Street
Melbourne 3000
Counselling line: 9635 3610
Administration Line: 9635 3600
Email: casa@rwh.org.au
Web:
www.thewomens.org.au/CASAHouse

Eastern CASA
17 Ware Crescent
Ringwood East, 3135
Phone: 9870 7330
Email: ecasa@maroondah.org.au

Gatehouse Centre
Level 5, South East Building
Royal Children's Hospital
Flemington Road
Parkville 3052
Phone: 9345 6391
Email: gatehouse.centre@rch.org.au
Web: www.rch.org.au/gatehouse

Gippsland CASA
PO Box 1124 Morwell, 3840
Phone: 5134 3922
Email: mail@gippscasa.org

Goulburn Valley CASA
130 Nixon Street
Shepparton, 3630
PO Box 1453 Shepparton, 3630
Phone: 5831 2343
Email: gvcasa@bigpond.com

Loddon Campaspe CASA
Bendigo Base Hospital
Corner Lucan & Arnold Streets
Bendigo, 3550
PO Box 78 Bendigo North 3550
Phone: 5441 0430
Web: www.casalc.com.au

Mallee Sexual Assault Unit
Suite 1, 144-146 Lime Avenue
Mildura 3500
PO Box 1373 Mildura 3500
Phone: 5025 5400
Email: info@msau-mdvs.org.au
Web: www.msau-mdvs.org.au

Northern CASA
Building 26
Repatriation Hospital
300 Waterdale Road
Heideberg West, 3081
PO Box 5444, Heidelberg West, 3081
Phone: 9496 2240
Email: ncasa@austin.org.au
Web: www.austin.org.au/northerncasa

South Eastern CASA
11 Chester Street
East Bentleigh, 3165
PO Box 72, East Bentleigh, 3145
Phone: 9594 2289
Email: secasa@southernhealth.org.au
Web: www.secasa.com.au
SECASA Myspace:
http://www.myspace.com/secasa

South Western CASA
299 Koroit Street
Warnambool, 3280
C/- South West Healthcare,
Ryot Street, Warnambool, 3280
Phone: 5564 4144
Email: casa@swh.net.au

Upper Murray CASA
38 Green Street
Wangaratta, 3677
Phone: 5722 2203
Email: admin@umcasa.com.au
Web: www.casa.org.au/umcasa

West CASA
53 Ballarat Road
Footscray, 3011
PO Box 443, Footscray, 3011
Phone: 9687 8637
Email: info@westcasa.org.au
Web: www.casa.org.au/westcasa

Wimmera CASA
9 Robinson Street
Horsham, 3400
Phone: 5381 9272
Email: wimcasa@netconnect.com.au

WA

Sexual assault Helpline 1800 199 888

SARC - Sexual Assault Resource Centre
Perth WA 6000
Phone 9340 1828 (Crisis line 24 hours)
Web
http://www.kemh.health.wa.gov.au/services/sarc/index.htm